

**INSIDE: MURDER AND A MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE**

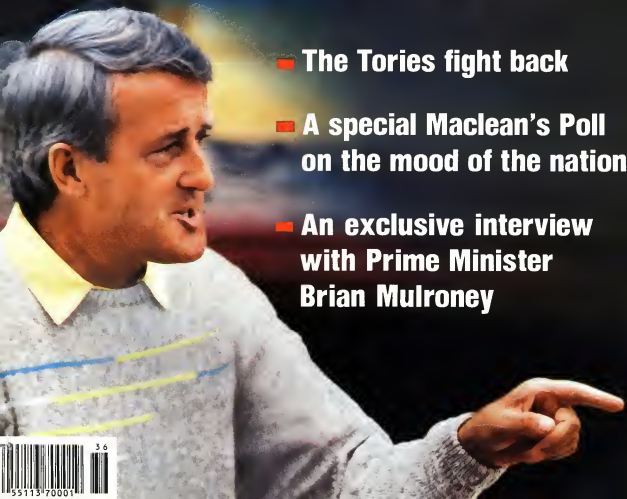
# Maclean's

SEPTEMBER 8, 1986

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.75

## COUNTERATTACK



- **The Tories fight back**
- **A special Maclean's Poll on the mood of the nation**
- **An exclusive interview with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney**



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

## Maclean's

SEPTEMBER 5, 1984 VOL. 10 NO. 34

### COVER

#### Counterattack

Two years ago this week Canadian voters handed Brian Mulroney's Conservatives the biggest parliamentary majority since Confederation. But a new Maclean's/Dominion poll—conducted as part of a special report on the Mulroney government at mid-term—shows that three out of five Canadians say the country would be better off with a different leader. — **Page 10**

COURTESY OF THE CANADIAN PRESS



#### All in a Boston family

Joseph Kennedy Jr.'s campaign for a U.S. House of Representatives seat in November's midterm elections revolves around his personality—and family connections. — **Page 24**



#### Grand arias in an arena

Performing a ruddy heard Verdi opera in a hockey arena, Italy's famed La Scala company thrilled audiences with grand arias and rock-concert technology. — **Page 61**



#### Revving up on auto dollars

Last week's announcement of a new \$200-million, 50-Share auto plant in Ontario caused concern about the danger of an oversupply crisis in North America. — **Page 42**



#### Incomplete confessions

In her new autobiography Tina Turner talks about sexual assaults on her by her former husband and a suicide attempt—but not about her abortions. — **Page 58**

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# Constructive stance

As a native Wisnapper living in southern Africa for a total of 11 years, I should like to express my appreciation to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his government for the stance taken by them at the recent Commonwealth mini-summit regarding the issue of sanctions against South Africa (World, A1). In a front-page story here, a senior Zimbabwean delegate decried Mulroney's participation as "most constructive," and the article went on to say that Mulroney presented the case for sanctions "perhaps better than many others who were much more involved in the conflict." This courageous role is commendable. The fact that Mulroney has allied himself with the African position is a significant step. Leaders of the developing world—especially the "frontline states" adjacent to South Africa—are watching most carefully how the Western nations are responding to the crisis of apartheid. —*Jimmy Chama, Harare, Zimbabwe*

## Reduced to size

B.C. Premier William Vander Zalm is quoted as saying, "Few people realize that Tweedsmuir Park is the size of Fraser." ("Excerpts from the record," *Comex*, Aug. 11). I am glad that such "realism" is, according to the premier, limited to just a few people; it follows, fortunately, that most people know differently. It may be mentioned though, for the benefit of the few, that Tweedsmuir Park covers less than two per cent of the area of Fraser. Comparing the park to Vander Zalm's country of



Protesters' courageous participation

origin (the Netherlands), it is still less than one-third the size of the latter. Now that Tweedsmuir Park has been reduced to its actual size, I sincerely hope that the B.C. government will have serious second thoughts about the wisdom of approving further mining and/or logging within the originally established boundaries of this park and, for that matter, in other provincial parks as well. They are obviously not as huge as some people think. —*GEMMA PROCTOR, Calgary*

## National embarrassment

"Amsterdam is not a city for normal people. Don't visit Amsterdam." This was a statement thrown at me on May 20 by a casually dressed policeman in an Amsterdam police station when I laid him out car had been broken into and a suitcase and a gadget bag had been stolen. He was the first policeman I was able to speak to in my no-block walk to the station from my car, which was parked on a main street. I was given a form to fill out for insurance purposes and someone had bothered to look at our car. At the garage, when the window was being fixed, I was told by a staff member that two weeks before, 500 cars had been broken into in Amsterdam in one week, and the streets of Amsterdam are littered with glass from previously shattered windows. Every Dutch person we talked to was aware of the situation, and it seemed to be a national embarrassment. Tell me about "A city [that] reclaim[s] its charm." (Follow-up, Aug. 18). —*PETER WELLSCHLAGER, Richmond, Ont.*

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Most correspondence to *Let's Say It to the Editor*, Maclean's magazine, Maclean Hunter Bldg., 777 Hwy 20, Toronto, Ont. M6W 1A7.

## PASSAGES

1982 Actor **Ted Knight**, 62, who gained fame and two Emmy Awards as the renowned and thick-witted news anchorman Ted Baxter on TV's 1976-77 series *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, at cancer, in Pacific Palisades, Calif. Knight, who was born Theodor Wladyslaw Konopka in Terryville, Conn., had more than 300 TV roles during his career. In 1978 he starred as the owner of an escort service in the short-lived and unsuccessful CBS TV series *The Ted Knight Show*. He went on to make a comeback in 1980 as a participant in ABC's situation comedy *The Courtship Comedy*. The network dropped the series in 1983, but it later successfully reappeared in a new version, *The Ted Knight Show*.

REVEALED By former Washington Redskins football star **Jerry Smith**, 42, that he is suffering from AIDS, a disclosure that makes him the first professional athlete known to have contracted the fatal disease. Smith played for the National Football League's Redskins for 13 years as a tight end and tight end and was among the 10 top pass receivers in the league from 1966 to 1968.

APPOINTED General Electric Co. executive **Robert Wright**, 61, as president and chief executive officer of NBC TV, which it acquired earlier this year as part of its \$4.6 billion (U.S.) acquisition of RCA Corp.; effective Sept. 1 Wright replaces as CEO Grant Tinker, who led NBC from third to first in prime-time rankings in his five years as chairman. **John Welch**, chairman and CEO of GE, will assume Tinker's title of chairman.

DIED Former Liberal MP **Bo Harris**, 64, of a heart attack suffered while competing in a cutting horse competition, in Langley, B.C. Harris, an energetic politician, was an Edmonton alderman from 1952 to 1959. He was elected as MP for Edmonton-Sherwood in 1968 and served until his defeat in 1972. In 1966 Harris was appointed to an arbitration board to decide distribution of toll revenues in the so-called toll war between Edmonton Telephone and Alberta Government Telephones.

APPOINTED New Democrat MP **Ian Deane**, 49, as chairman of the Public Service Staff Relations Board by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, effective Sept. 2. Deane was first elected MP for Hamilton Mountain in 1980, and since 1984 has served as NDP House leader, second-in-command to party leader Ed Broadbent. Deane had said earlier this year that he was not planning to run in the next election, adding at the time that he was inspired by the government's approach to work in the House.



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## The dreams of summer

At 11 a.m. in West Burlington, Iowa, the temperature was 22°C, the humidity an enervating 87 per cent. The living room of the modest brick townhouse near a busy freeway seemed even hotter. The room was bare, except for a sectional couch, a 19-inch television set and an

assortment of running shoes and dirty socks. Sitting in front of the TV with a converter on his lap was Larry Walker, the left fielder for the Burlington Expos, a Midwest League farm team owned by the Montreal Expos. Stretched out on the couch, Walker filled an hour watching *The Young and*

the Rubens and a few reruns admiring Warner Heston in a rock video. Said Walker: "There's not a lot to do. And even if there was, I couldn't afford to do it."

For Walker, there was plenty of time to dream of making it to the big leagues from this little town on the Mississippi. As the many days of summer melted by, nothing changed much except the miles on the uniforms of the small-town opposition: the Waterloo Indians, the Cedar Rapids Reds, the Peoria Chiefs. Without a car and earning only \$1,800 a month, Walker's days were long and empty—the price of a shot at stardom.

Unlike many other players, Walker had a real chance. To the major league baseball scouts who followed his progress on the Class A farm club, the promising 19-year-old from Maple Ridge, B.C., had the talent to be a genuine baseball superstar. Wrote Carl Gustaf, sports editor for the local Burlington newspaper, *The News Eye*: "The Montreal Expos have never had a player from Canada before and it doesn't appear that it will be long before they have Walker."

For the managers of the Montreal Expos, the youth lounging on the sofa that hot summer day was an investment in the future. They had signed him two years before when scouts saw him at an international summer tournament in Kimberley, B.C. The scoreboard in Olympic Stadium had already alerted Montreal fans to the hot young prospect in Iowa. During major league games the giant scoreboard in the Big O had lit up with statistics on Walker's exceptional record in Burlington. His batting average had been a league-leading .346. As well, Walker led the league in home runs. By midsummer he had scored 38 and was expected to toggle the 50-year-old league's all-time record of 48. "No question about it, he's a bright spot in this organization's plan," said Burlington manager J.R. (Junior) Miner, a 36-year veteran of minor league baseball.

But that day, Walker and the Expos had just returned from a seven-day road trip, and the slacker was in a slump. His batting average had plummeted to a mere modest .215. "You can't take it too seriously," he said. "I figure 90 per cent of it is mental. For the two weeks my girlfriend came down from Maple Ridge in June, the average was up to .420."

In 1985, when Walker played for the Utica, N.Y., Blue Sox, no one asked him as a superstar, and he had an indifferent season. But at spring training in West Palm Beach, Fla., earlier this year, Walker suddenly blossomed. "I don't compare with anything. I've seen in 10 years," said Miner of the sta-

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# Nothing succeeds like excess

By Fred Bruning

There has turned out to be a host of a somber, what with the Statue of Liberty shoddy and the latest royal matrimonial pining as events of substance. Lee Iacocca told the state like it was a Chrysler LeBaron and, predictably enough, by the fourth of July, we had no more of Lady Liberty than we have milk chocolate custards (in the form of a watch) since have been enough to gag the entire republic.

As for Andrew and Fergie, why should Americans give a rap? Why should anyone, for that matter? Two aristocrats get locked in Westminster Abbey and appear to the Anore for five unforgettable days about the yacht Britannia. Over this, we are supposed to grow woe? Not that Caroline Kennedy and her new husband, Edwin A. Schlossberg, offend much anyone. The spectacle of millionaires plugging eternal love is not in itself inspirational unless, from their limousine, the newswrecks are moved to toss \$100 bills.

It could be that this somber season is reflective of the national mood. One is tempted to say we are peopled more these days by privilege than heat and humidity—by our well-stocked supermarkets, our credit cards, our state highways, our automobiles with retractable headlights, our 24-hour news channel, our instant salutes, our Dallas Cowboy cheerleaders, our upscale sneakers, our imperial athletes, our quarter-pounded burgers, our Tiffany lampshades, our billiard tables in the basement, our gas-fired backyard barbecues. For six years the national administration has been celebrating the wonders of our supply-side society, but even the President's own camp followers seem unenthused. Ripped one bumper sticker or a pickup truck through the Liberty 74 statue. In the Central America Shattering Commemoration.

To the rest of the world it must seem that our smugness is about to reach critical mass. In an exhaustive story on the students' excellence of Asian studies, *The New York Times* reported that American mothers consistently judge their children to have the highest level of shyness—an accolade in optimism, as it turned out—while Japanese mothers harshly placed their offspring in the lowest category. Researchers concluded that U.S. moms demonstrated "an excessively positive attitude," and who would have expected otherwise? Excessively positive is what we are supposed to be. Meanwhile, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology announced that 21 per cent of the 1986 freshman class will be filled by students of Asian extraction.

Beyond the big talk and self-protection, though, is it not almost positively that we are a pretty confident bunch of daddies. Even with air conditioners running full tilt, we don't seem to have much energy—intellectual or otherwise. In a Tennessee classroom, we have been arguing evolution all our again. A television preacher says he wants to save us by taxing for the White House—providing, you understand, that Juan approves. President Reagan's nominee for chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court is a fellow who can't quite bring himself to name the "separate but equal" doctrine of race relations. On top of everything else, all the top weekly-magazines at the White House—including the *Positively*—are submitting to voluntary censorship as a means of generating support for drug testing in the workplace. Are we in a snook or what?

Look at the movie *Overboard*, for instance, one of the summer's big numbers. The film is based on a book of the same title by Nora Ephron, a trash and funny writer. Ephron once was married to Carl Bernstein, the former *Washington Post* reporter whose stories on Watergate helped nudge Richard Nixon into a well-earned early retirement. So Ephron and Bernstein break up—no news there, right?—and she whittles a lot of ferret out of the experience.

Surrounded by every conceivable creature comfort, sustained by light and caring friends, looking as easy as pie, the Ephron character and the Bernstein character allow their partnership to self-destruct anyway. Why, exactly, no one explains. In the movie as in America, everything was right—except, of course, that something was wrong.

However, it is the apocryphal question of what we consider important—of who we think we are and what we should become? Among those lines, government figures show that between 1974 and 1984 the number of undergraduate degrees in business and management granted by American universities increased by 75 per cent and the number in computer sciences by an astounding 576 per cent. In the same period, according to the U.S. department of education, dropouts in the social sciences declined by 35 per cent, in library sciences by 78 per cent, in education by 50 per cent, philosophy and religion by 32 per cent.

In this marvelous state of affairs? We are mass-producing a generation dedicated mostly to the accumulation of wealth and the manipulation of personnel; people who would sooner contemplate the latent in software than the writings of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas. The trend will be well for the sale of varnished leather ottoman chairs and Colorado condominiums, but may not enhance our reputation. More to the point, all the business classes in the world cannot guarantee him. Psychotherapy is sure to continue a boom industry.

The grand thing is that the administration's irresponsible pay-raises remain wistfully detached, unnoticed, apparently, that the nation is vital and the populace baring with contentment. President Reagan's halcyon are characterized by a propensity for strutting, sounding a great deal like the American monomaniacs who irritate their small fry as gentiles. Best not to disturb the presidential reverie. At the fern bars and gourmet food shops, however, there may be a certain trend toward goodliness, a slight chastening. This cannot be caused by a surge of imported lager or *stouts* of beer. Could the American people be wobbling toward wisdom, after all? As Stroup and Nicholson attest, there are times when even the snail may seem far from enough.

*Fred Bruning is a writer with Newday in New York.*



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# MOOD SWINGS



## RATING THE LEADERS

Nationally, there were almost twice as many people who expressed indifference toward any of the three major party leaders, 41 per cent, as said they were committed to any one of them. By region, the party leaders were deadlocked in British Columbia. Broadbent led in Ontario, while Turner trailed both Mulroney and Broadbent in Quebec. The leadership poll, in rounded percentages:

	B.C.	West	Ont.	Que.	All.
Mulroney	21	22	18	24	26
Turner	20	8	20	12	18
Broadbent	20	19	25	20	14
Indiff.	39	51	37	44	42

In the general election on Sept. 4, 1984, a decisive 58 per cent of the Canadian electorate swept a logjammed Conservative majority into the House of Commons and placed Brian Mulroney firmly in the Prime Minister's Office. The Liberals under then-prime minister John Turner won only 28 per cent of the votes, a record low for the party. The New Democratic Party held on with 19 per cent. Now, in a *Maclean's*/Decima opinion poll, three out of every five people polled say that the country would be better off with a new prime minister. At the same time, just two years after Canadians voted for such conviction, the poll shows that a majority of the electorate is only loosely committed to any political party or leader. The public uncertainty reflected in that finding comes at a pivotal period in federal politics. As Parliament prepares for a new session to open on Oct. 1, the politicians are under pressure to provide competent and credible government. Saul Decima Research Ltd. chairman Allan Gregg: "The crucial testing time for the government, and the opposition parties, is in the next six months."

The severity of that test is sketched in 156 pages of re-analyzed opinions from 1,600 households nationwide, the computer data from a Decima telephone poll conducted for *Maclean's* on August 28 and 29. The efforts by federal politicians to meet the challenge of

a disaffected public are detailed in the following pages of this *Maclean's* Special Report. But the poll responses expose a pattern of antipathy toward the Conservative government's performance and doubts whether the rival parties would do better. Fifty-one per cent of the people said the country needs a new prime minister. But the poll records that the degree of indifference to all three federal party leaders is twice as strong as the commitment to any one of them. Fifty-six per cent would prefer a different party in power in Ottawa. But all three major parties are bracketed in majority positions. And more than half of each party's popular support rests on people who said they were likely to switch to another party within the next two years.

Decima's Gregg, who analyzed the poll responses, calculated that many

among the electorate's uncertain majority may make up their minds about the government—and the alternatives—roughly by the end of next February. That will be half-way through the government's maximum five-year mandate, although an election may be held within two years. Said Gregg: "Our findings show that 58 per cent of all decided voters claim that they are not committed to their current vote and might switch to another party." That uncertainty prevails in all parties and all regions of the country, although the highest likelihood of changing party loyalties was recorded among young people, upper-income households, working women, francophones and Quebecers. Added Gregg, whose numerous clients include the Mulroney government and private industry: "While there will be a particular focus by the parties on female voters and Quebecers, the entire nation is up for grabs."

Meanwhile, no party mustered enough solid support in the polling to be able to claim a clear lead. Indeed, support for all three parties may well be clustered around the 30-per-cent mark after allowing for the poll's potential margin of error of three percentage points either way. Asked which party's candidate they would vote for in a current federal election—or were leaning toward, if uncertain—58 per cent said Liberal, 31 per cent Conservative and 24 per cent New. The remaining 10 per cent gave no answer,

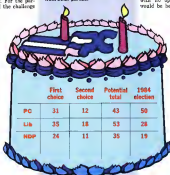
said they would not vote or named another party candidate.

The weakness in the public's attachment to any party emerged when those who stated a voting preference were then asked whether they felt committed to that choice, or thought it more likely that they might switch to another party's candidate within two years. The answers reduced the core of committed support for each party by slightly more than half. For the parties, that pattern posed the challenge

of trying to build a majority by drawing or securing supporters of their rivals while holding on to their own weakly attached voters. Poll responses show that the New has been most successful in attracting newly committed supporters—13 per cent of its total compared to seven per cent for the Liberals and six per cent in committed Conservative ranks. If all potential switch votes went to second-choice parties, the net effect would be a slight widening of the Liberal party's current lead. Still, the larger proportions of potential vote switchers expose, said Gregg, "the acute whiplash with the performance

## 'UP FOR GRABS'

More than half the supporters of each party said they might switch their vote to another party as a second choice in the next two years. The table, in percentages, shows the total vote each party might receive if it managed both to hold its potential defections and to capture vote-switchers from other parties.



## KEEPING UP WITH THE JONESES

In the past two years, has the country's situation improved, stayed about the same or worsened? How does your personal situation compare with that?

	CANADA	PERSONAL
IMPROVED	31	39
THE SAME	39	46
WORSENE	29	15

(percentages)

of the political alternatives before the voters.

An disenfranchising for the parties and their strategists were a series of negative or, at best, neutral answers to poll questions about government and political leadership. Asked whether they would vote now to re-elect the government, only two out of every five people said yes (page 18). Most of the rest—leaving out a small group with no opinion—said the country would be better off with a different party in power. Quantified further about their reasons, only a minority of those who would re-elect the government said they genuinely believed that the Mulroney government is doing a good job. A majority said they would re-elect only because they do not believe either of the other parties would do any better. Then, of those who favor a different party in power, a narrow majority based their choice on a belief that the Liberals or the New would do a better job than the Tories. But almost as many proposed a change only because, they said, one of the present opposition parties could do so

responses shows that 53 per cent believe the country's situation worsened last, their own situation improved. Except for the small minority who said they were worse off while the average situation improved, all the rest said that they were in step with the country—for better or none.

An upward 28 per cent said things had improved both for them and the average Canadian. Another 21 per cent saw no change in their own situation, or in that of the country. There were 10 per cent in a gloomier group who, although they believed their situation was average, said that things had worsened both personally and in the country at large.

worse than the Mulroney Times. And even in five of the people polled said that the country needs a new national political party altogether.

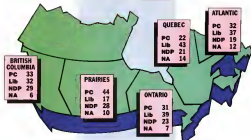
Opinions on the party leaders were equally fractured and mostly tepid. Sir Leader Ed Broadbent matched Mulroney, each with 21 per cent of the poll, in ratings on prime ministerial ability. Turner trailed with 16 per cent (page 16). But more people, 30 per cent, said the job should go to somebody other than the current party leaders—and then named 36 candidates, many of them unknown. The leader among those written candidates was Jean Chrétien, runner-up to

## PARTY PREFERENCE

If a federal election were held tomorrow which party's candidate would you vote for, or whom are you leaning toward? (In percentages. NA = no answer)

### CANADA

PC	Lib	NDP	NA
31	35	24	10



Turner in the 1984 Liberal leadership contest. Twelve per cent of all the people polled backed Chrétien for prime minister. Former prime minister Pierre Trudeau was second with almost four per cent. The ratings on the three party leaders were drawn from poll questions on whether Mulroney was doing well as prime minister and from responses that said Turner or Broadbent would do a better job. Overall, there were almost twice as many people who indicated indifference toward any of the three major party leaders, 41 per cent, as had they were committed to any one of them.

In a regional breakdown of the poll results, Mulroney led everywhere but in Ontario. There, Broadbent was ahead with 35 per cent of committed voters. Turner was second with 20 per cent and Mulroney trailed with 18 per cent. Quebec, a Liberal stronghold before Mulroney's Conservatives won a

majority of the popular vote there in the 1984 election, placed Turner behind both Mulroney and Broadbent. Only 12 per cent of Quebecers polled said that the Liberal leader would make a better prime minister. Twenty per cent of Quebecers preferred Broadbent, while 34 per cent backed Mulroney. Chrétien drew two per cent of the poll in Quebec. Turner's weakest point was in the Prairies, where he garnered only eight-per-cent support compared to 50 per cent of Mulroney and 35 per cent of Broadbent. Mulroney made his strongest showing in the Atlantic provinces, a region where Broadbent's rating was weakest. The party leaders were deadlocked in British Columbia.

The poll's exposure of the fractures in political opinion, and of the uncertain majority's disengagement from politics, follows Mulroney's steep decline in public esteem. From a post-

election popularity peak 18 months ago, his government has fallen by as much as 25 percentage points in opinion ratings. Although the opposition parties have gained popularity, many of the people who have defected from the Tory camp are among the undecided or are only lukewarm supporters of the other parties. Some analysts say that the unsettled state of political opinion stems from the substantial riding shifts in the 1984 election and the disillusionment that set in afterward. Rod Goggin, "One" findings show that many voters who supported the Conservatives in the 1984 election have been driven away from

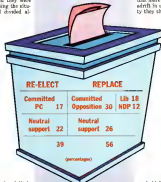
dated management issues and 10 per cent named tax reform. Eight per cent said simply that the government should listen more carefully to the people.

Many of the people, the poll indicates, believe that they are better off than their neighbors. Added to rate the personal situation of the average Canadian during the past two years, and to compare it with their own, almost 40 per cent said that they had done better than average. Fifteen per cent said they were worse off than the average and the rest said they were about the same. In assessing the situation of others, the poll divided almost evenly, at 38 per cent each, between those who said the average Canadian's situation had improved during the past two years and those who said it had worsened. The rest saw little or no change. Analysis of the responses shows that those who say things have improved for themselves and others are more likely to say they would vote to re-elect the federal government, while the rest are unlikely to be government supporters.

These responses reinforce the opinions of many commentators that what concerns Canadians most about their government, and their political system, are issues of trust and competence. The poll disclosed little desire for radical change. Indeed, 70 per cent of those questioned rejected

## TO RE-ELECT OR REPLACE

Both supporters and opponents of the Conservative federal government indicate committed voters and others more neutral-faced, who would vote to re-elect because they think "no other party could do a better job," or who would vote to put a different party in power because "no party could do a worse job."



the suggestion that the country should look beyond the three federal party leaders for a prime minister. Even more, 77 per cent, rejected the proposition raised in the poll that "the country needs a real alternative to the Progressive Conservatives, the Liberals and the NDP-led party." The same proportion said there was no need for new provincial parties.

The poll's strong vote of confidence in the country's present party system contrasted sharply with the evidence that more than half of those polled are still in uncertainty about which party they should support. But, although more people expressed a preference for a party's candidate, if an election were held, than for the party leaders. Analysis of the poll indicates that the main reason for the uncertainty in the electorate is that many people are uncomfortable with any of the party leaders. The competence issue is dominant—a factor highlighted by poll responses showing that even those who say the present government should be replaced still overwhelmingly cite "better government" as a primary concern. Rod Deane's Grogg: "The ultimate test by which the government will be judged in coming months will be good old-fashioned competence."

—CARL WILLIAMS

## CANDIDATES FROM ELSEWHERE

According to the Mulroney/Deane poll, what the country may need is a Tiger in the Prime Minister's Office. Or a real one. Tiger Williams, a term on the blue lines of the National Hockey League, gets one vote in the poll on prime ministerial preferences, while the current party leaders are excluded. So even if he were to win, the candidate who stars in television's *21* elsewhere and in a current movie called *A Fine Kink*.

In all, 36 per cent of the people polled said that somebody other

than Brian Mulroney, John Turner or Ed Broadbent would make the best prime minister. Jean Chrétien, runner-up to Turner for the federal Liberal leadership, was the winner with 180 of the 460 response votes. Next came three former government leaders—Trudeau with 34 votes, Alberta's Peter Lougheed with 23 and Joe Clark with 13.

Williams and Mandell were in powerful political company in the single-vote category. Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher also drew a vote

apiece. But the hockey player and the comic actor have an advantage over the President and the British Prime Minister. Although Williams and Mandell are based in Los Angeles—Mandell for his TV series and film-making, Williams one with the *21* Kings—both are Canadians.

But Mandell, for one, was ruled because he drew only one vote. "Personally, I think polls are silly," he told *Macleans*. "If you look at the cold, hard facts you will find I'm doing much better than that."

# THE TORIES FIGHT BACK

COVER

For decades Canadians had second neither as confident nor as hopeful. On Sept. 4, 1984, a majority of voters in every province handed the Progressive Conservatives the largest parliamentary majority since Confederation, ending two decades of almost continuous Liberal rule. The nation's attention that historic night was riveted on a modest recreation centre in the small northern Quebec town of Baie Comeau. There, Brian Mulroney, a local millhand's son, beamed with confidence as he stood with his beautiful wife, Mila, before hundreds of cheering supporters.

Two years later the applause is decidedly muted. Almost halfway through their mandate, the Tories have eroded the Liberals in opinion polls for five consecutive months. Four Conservative cabinet ministers have resigned amid controversy—raising questions about the government's competence and credibility. And the Prime Minister himself, private party polls reveal, is largely untrusted by Cana-

dians. In Metro Toronto, a central component of any political strategy, only 21 per cent of voters say they trust Mulroney—compared to 69 per cent for Liberal Leader John Turner.

Mulroney is fighting back, but political analysts say that he will have to act quickly. His chief pollster, Allan Gregg of Toronto-based Decima Research Ltd., says fairly that the Tories have a "window of opportunity" to reverse public fever, but he adds, "the window is closing in the next six months."

**Defense:** Last week, during a four-day swing through Atlantic Canada, there was ample evidence of the Tory rush to beat the clock. In Fredericton, Mulroney appointed veteran Conservative strategist Dalton Camp as a special adviser to the cabinet (page 25). In Halifax, the Prime Minister signed a new energy accord giving Nova Scotia a greater share in oil and gas production revenues and declared that Ottawa had not done enough to strengthen the economic fibre of the Maritimes.



Manion (right) with Mulroney at a meeting in St. John's: a six-month window of opportunity

Then, in St. John's, the government appointed Sir Sir Ian Dean, a longtime Tory critic, to a senior post in the public service—an attempt, observers fear, to defuse charges of conservative Tory patronage. Later, wrapping up three days of meetings with the inner cabinet, Deputy Prime Minister Don Manion formally presaged the first session of the 33rd Parliament—and called a new one for Oct. 1. Concluded Mulroney: "We have got to fight on our procedures, we have got to deliver more effectively on the political side. We have got to respond better to the crises that come upon us."

**Burgers:** Senior Tory officials have been at work all summer on a blueprint for the second half of the government's mandate. Although many recall that Gregg's six-month deadline, they acknowledge that prompt action is essential to repair the government's image—and the Prime Minister's—before the anticipated general election in 1988. In coming months, the Tories plan to portray themselves as better organized, more caring and more innovative. At the same time, the Prime Minister's advisers are determined to give him a more statesmanlike image by distanc-

ing him from the political fray.

In fact, the government has already undergone major surgery. In the last few months, dozens of cabinet ministers, senior civil servants and party officials have been fired or reassigned. Many of Mulroney's routine tasks have been turned over to Manionkowski, the respected government House leader, so that the Prime Minister can avoid the routine maddening in Parliament and devote more time to what he sides feel he does best—travel the country attracting supporters.

**Governor:** Tory strategists have also drawn up a political agenda for the next two years. The main issues on the list: tax reform, free trade and constitutional change. All are fraught with risks—and any one of the three might collapse altogether. Said Mulroney, in an interview last week with Maclean's Ottawa Bureau Chief Paul Gossel (page 18): "This is a government that is determined enough to take some chances as behalf of Canada. We're not playing it safe. We're judged on that."

The Tories will reveal more of their game plan this month. Following the St. John's gathering of the cabinet's 96-member portfolios and planning committee, the full cabinet was scheduled

to meet this week in Montreal. Its task: to draft a revised legislative agenda that will outline a new statement on economic policy. The government also faces its first general test of public sentiment on Sept. 26, with by-elections in Alberta's Ponoka and Quebec's St-Maurice ridings.

But it was clear even in St. John's that the government had already embarked on its most critical task—to persuade voters that it is doing a better job than they think it is. Prime Minister Michael Wilson released the first issue of *The Fiscal Monitor*, a quarterly newsletter, which said the government had trimmed \$28 billion from the nation's \$28.5 billion budget deficit. The final figure was only \$20 million over the ministry's own projections.

**Angry:** However, one other Wilson statement last week raised the now-familiar complaint of confusion in Tory ranks. Citing the need to reduce the deficit, the finance minister said, "It's pretty clear there is not a lot of money to be spent on a range of projects." That was only two days after Mulroney had told angry railway workers in Fredericton that his government was committed to giving federal aid to bring more jobs to the region.

Arriving at the Fredericton Inn after a meeting with New Brunswick Premier Richard Hatfield, the Prime Minister was confronted by more than 100 workers from the Canadian National Railway yards in Montreal, where up to 600 workers are due to be laid off. The railwaymen complained that while Mulroney had spent millions of dollars in federal money in his home riding of Montserrat, he had done nothing about their problems.

Heaving pillow handbats in the path of his limousine, the demonstrators followed Mulroney inside the hotel, then heckled him during his address to an enthusiastically crowd of 1,000 supporters. But the Conservative leader calmly turned aside their threats with level-headedness borrowed from his 1984 election campaign. Pivoting heavily, Mulroney then delivered a rousing speech that had his audience jumping, shouting and clapping in appreciation. Said on his way to the Prime Minister's later: "It'll be that way for the next two years. Manionkowski will be in Ottawa and Mulroney will be travelling."

**Caution:** But according to the Maclean's/Decima poll, Mulroney's attempt to change public attitudes about his government is a national, not a regional, problem. The survey indicates that only 21 per cent of respondents would vote Conservative if no elections were held now, compared with 35 per cent for the Liberals and 40 per cent for the New Democrats. Among voters polled, 73 per cent saw no need for the government to adopt any direction, but said it could do a better job at putting its policies into effect. Said Howard Crosby, Conservative MP from Halifax West: "We've fallen into rhetoric. What people want is action." Another senior member of the Tory large unit, largely caucused, The Prime Minister's Office, he said had no damage control measures, "as there's no perspective." Without perspective, "they keep repeating those errors, meeting in circles, never learning."

The root issue, many political analysts agree, is the government's contradictory statements by Mulroney on last year's record tour affair, ministerial resignations and other subjects. Those, they say, have damaged his credibility. David Elkins, head of the political science department at Vancouver's University of British Columbia, says Mulroney's main task is that he "kiss everybody to like him." As a result, says Elkins, he is reluctant to make politically unpopular decisions. Former Liberal cabinet minister Jean-Luc Poirier, now lecturing in political science at the University of Ottawa, says Mulroney's "harsh words for Mulroney, said Poirier. "He suffers from an acute psychological need to embellish truth."

The Prime Minister himself dis-



Alkins (left) with Camp: a plan to portray the Conservatives as more caring

cents these apologetic—and the current polls As he told Maclean's "At midterms, you had expectations have not been met and disappointment has set in. That's normal. At the end of his second year, Ronald Reagan received 60 per cent of the popular support. Margaret Thatcher was down in the dumps and so on. But all responded and won subsequently with great popularity."

To boost his own standing, Mulroney plans to spend a good deal of time in the coming weeks at sea parties and cruises, appealing to loyal Tories. Says Senator Norman Atkins, Mulroney's chief election strategist, the best way to win over the electorate "is by persuading our own supporters just how effective this government has been."

**Surprisingly,** A Western swing is scheduled later this month, but Mulroney is expected to concentrate his efforts on Quebec, where the Tories had just 22 per cent support in the Mulroney/Debraux poll, despite winning 88 of 75 seats in the last election. The Prime Minister has already visited his 11 Quebec ministers for a two-year campaign of pre-election stumpings. Senior Tories say that Mulroney, a Quebecer, can still beat Turner head-to-head in the province, but that the profile of Tory ministers and MPs is dangerously low. Said one Mulroney confidante: "Everyone in Quebec knows Brian. But they don't know even a Mulroney Minister." Mulroney's ally (Industry Minister) Michel Chabot.

Despite its record in the polls, the government's relationship with the business community has strengthened, largely because of its tax reforms, free trade and deficit control. Last winter financiers on Toronto's Bay Street were critical of the government's lack of resolution, which some businessmen referred to as the "wing factor." Said Thomas d'Aquila, president of the Business Council on National Issues, a lobby group "This year has substantially subsided."

At the same time, the Tories have struck a tentative peace with social policy groups. Terence Hanley, executive director of the independent Canadian Council on Social Policy, said plans by senior right-wing Tories to cut social expenditures were dashed because they learned that there is "a higher regard for social equality in

Canada than they had thought."

In fact, the Conservatives are now attempting to portray themselves as a government with a social conscience, anxious to help the disadvantaged. A key minister in the effort will be Barbara McDougall, the minister responsible for the status of women. Her goal is to shore up the party's support among women by providing approved job training, health and child care programs—an issue that all parties agree is shaping up as a big election issue.



Mulroney and his wife, Mila, on election night celebration

Said McDougall: "I think we've got a pretty good drum to beat."

The perception of the Tory government as an entering one took shape with Finance Minister Michael Wilson's May 22, 1985, budget, which proposed removing full protection against inflation for old-age pension recipients. Although the government subsequently abandoned that plan, the impression of calmness remained. Said Mulroney's Tory organizer Frank Clark: "We still get talks from people saying our pensions have been cut."

**Shadowed:** The pension issue was only the start. Last fall two Alberta-based banks, the Norwest and Canadian Western, collapsed. A few weeks later, the federal government announced the resignation of then-fisheries minister John Fraser. Suzanne Blain-Greener resigned as minister of state for trans-

port on Dec. 31 after disagreeing publicly with her cabinet colleagues. Senior Stevens resigned as industry minister on May 12 over conflict-of-interest allegations. The resulting judicial inquiry into Stevens' affairs has focused the nation's mind on keeping the government with daily embarrassments.

Those controversies overshadowed the government's attempts to promote economic recovery and national reconciliation. Since the Conservatives came to power, inflation has remained close to a manageable four per cent, unemployment had dropped to 9.0 per cent in July from 11.7 per cent in September, 1984, and the interest rates have plummeted to about 8.5 per cent from 12.5 two years ago. Federal-provincial relations have also been relatively smooth.

**Impress:** Despite those setbacks, senior party officials know from private polls that the electorate has remained satisfied. The June cabinet shuffle was, in part, an attempt to improve the government's standing. In all, six ministers were fired, 21 reassigned, eight new faces added and more Quebecers were given responsible portfolios. The most important change: Mulroney's move from the transport department to deputy prime minister.

Operating out of the Langevin Block, across Wellington Street from the Parliament buildings—where Mulroney also has his offices—Mulroney is now known in Tory circles as the government's "chief operating officer," with Mulroney as chairman of the board. Since the last week's session in St. John's, Mulroney has attended every cabinet meeting since June. The Prime Minister has also appointed political chiefs in each province, including Klaus (Quebec) and Wilson (Ontario). Now, beginning his day with a 6 a.m. ride on his subway bicycle, Mulroney has more time to deal with important matters. Rarely in bed before midnight, his only break is two evening hours with the family.

After shuffling his cabinet, Mulroney turned to the civil service. Last month he reassigned 24 senior bureaucrats and brought in two new faces. He has an secretary of the science and technology ministry, and Norman Specter, deputy minister to former B.C. premier Bill Bennett, as secretary to the

cabinet for federal-provincial relations. The Camp appointment, however, was the most significant. A spokesman for Mulroney said that Camp would advise the cabinet on policy matters. But opposition MPs said it was clear that Camp, who has deputy minister status and will earn up to \$130,000 a year, would offer political counsel. As such, they said, it was improper to give him a civil service job. Said Senator Keith Durey, a senior Liberal strategist: "He's going to become an advisor, and I'm spending up next year playing shortstop for the Blue Jays."

Among Camp's responsibilities will be advising the government on how to

give the talks now newscasts. For now, Mulroney faces strong skepticism about free trade from Liberals, New Democrats and extreme nationalists. At least two provinces—Ontario's David Peterson and Manitoba's Howard Pawley—have voiced strong doubts about the benefits of a trade agreement. All 10 provinces are scheduled to discuss the issue on Sept. 17 in Ottawa. Further talks are scheduled at a first ministers economic conference this November.

**Spurred:** The Tories are also anxious to find a formula for bringing Quebec into the Constitution. It rejected in 1981 Premier Robert Bourassa says an accord

for states and delivery payments for farmers that fall 80% of the cost of the program—depressed commodity prices on a global scale—is beyond the government's control. And if another recession strikes during the next few years, as some economists predict, Mulroney could be knocked off his carefully chartered course.

As he grapples with those problems, Mulroney will confront not only constant attacks from opposition parties heaped by favorable opinion polls. He will also have to deal with increasing restlessness among right-wing Tory backbenchers, who want to reinstate capital punishment, offer more tax



Wilson in St. John's (left), Mulroney and Buchanan in Halifax: ample evidence as the Tory rush to beat the clock

package policy initiatives to make them appealing. The most important: the plan to overhaul the federal tax system. The proposed reform would lower personal income taxes and eliminate loopholes. Details of the reform and a related overhaul of social programs will likely surface in an anticipated February budget.

**Stagnant:** Two other initiatives are expected to reach a critical point early next year—constitutional reform and free trade. Trade talks with the United States, which began May 30 and are expected to conclude before the end of 1987, have been affected by rising protectionist sentiment south of the border, where congressmen are facing November elections. A decision this fall by the U.S. International Trade Administration to slap countervailing tariffs on Canadian exports of softwood lumber could also damage the talks. But Canadian officials say an initial agreement on a mechanism for dealing with trade restraints could surface by February.

is possible, but only if Ottawa and the other provinces agree to five conditions, ranging from greater control over immigration to a Quebec veto over future constitutional changes. Mulroney has already scored one victory so far from convincing the other nine provinces to accept their own demands for constitutional reform until Quebec's are addressed. A successful outcome to the talks would be a victory for Mulroney and could revive Tory fortunes in Quebec. Said Poirer: "Mulroney needs that success to run again in Quebec."

Some Tories say Mulroney's concern about the Constitution may distract him from economic issues. Said Tory MP George Fournier: "We're getting a repeat of Mr. Trudeau's let-them-sit-the-Constitution approach to economic matters." But Mulroney declares that the economy remains his chief concern. His priorities as the economic reform package is being developed and helping Western provinces hurt by low wheat, lumber and energy prices. The government may announce tax breaks

breaks for business and factor larger cuts in the deficit. But Mulroney's advisors are cautioned that the performance of this government—not the opposition—will determine the substance of the next election. Said Atkins: "I subscribe to the theory that governments are defeated, not elected."

**Challenges:** Few politicians are more keenly aware of that than External Affairs Minister Joe Clark. In May 1979, Clark led the Conservatives to victory over Prime Trudeau's Liberals. Nine months later, after a shaky performance in office, he was defeated. The experience was chastening, and in Sept. 8, 1984, as Mulroney celebrated in Bow Connaught, the former prime minister observed: "Our real test will not be that we won tonight with such a massive margin from now. Our real test will be four years from now." That appears to have been an extremely prescient remark.

—PAT GIBBARD, in St. John's with HAROLD MACLENNAN in Ottawa and CONNOR REYNOLDS

At a three-day meeting with his top cabinet ministers in St. John's last week, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney conferred to draft policies aimed at supporting his Conservative government's fortunes in the second half of the mandate before Mulroney returned to the capital. Mulroney's Ottawa Bureau Chief Paul Ouellet interviewed the Prime Minister. *Some excerpts.*

**Mulroney:** You have said that the government has done a good job on the bigger things but not so well on the smaller things. What are the smaller things?

**Mulroney:** Take the bigger things to put it in perspective, our competitiveness has jumped to sixth position from 18th in two years. Interest rates are down to their lowest in eight years. Federal-provincial relations are in a new state of sanity and productivity. [Minister of Finance] Joe Clark and his colleagues have conducted Canada's international affairs with great dignity and accomplishment. These are the big ticket items. The smaller things are what mean to attract attention from Ottawa. For example, the problem involving [Minister of Natural Resources] Maurice Masse [who left the cabinet five months ago] has been solved. But while police investigated alleged election spending irregularities. That attracted infinitely more attention than declining interest rates ever did. I understand that and I accept that, but it's a fact of life.

**Mulroney:** Is the Mulroney poll 75 per cent of the respondents now not for the government to adopt a new and different direction, but support for the party is up quite low. How do you explain that?

**Mulroney:** Well, I think they say that because they're not going to consider the alternatives. They know they're not going to be called upon to



Mulroney during interview with Mulroney's big ticket items

## 'WE'RE NOT PLAYING IT SAFE'

COVER

vote for us now, as they have the liberty of looking at us in isolation, rather than in conjunction with the Liberals and the NDP. It's my hope that when that comparison is made we will be found to be a desirable alternative. Secondly, at midterms you find expectations have not been met and disappointment has set in. That's normal.

**Mulroney:** With Deputy Prime Minister Donald Mazankowski now

having inherited the government's chief operating officer, is there a danger the public will perceive that you are more interested in personal matters than in running a government?

**Mulroney:** No. A prime minister can't delegate any of his executive responsibility. That goes with the job. What you can do is seek out the best people to help you. There is a great administrative burden on someone who [must be] the chief operating officer of a government; then has a party role and a parliamentary role and an international role to play. So what Mr. Mazankowski has been asked to do is to help me on the administrative side so I will be freed to spend more time in the regions, more time with the provincial premiers.

**Mulroney:** When you are one of the media that have been made out of the polls, do you feel you should take any personal blame?

**Mulroney:** Oh, I don't think there is any leader who should not bear the responsibility when things go poorly. Whether he is directly responsible or not is irrelevant. He is the leader of the team and he is responsible.

**Mulroney:** Some politicians say you have only about six months to regain the support that you have lost. Do you agree?

**Mulroney:** No, that's silly. There is no urgency. There is as imperative beyond trying to do a better job for Canada. We've done that. It's indicated, with some considerable success. We have now set out a number of challenges, including constitutional negotiations, free trade negotiations and tax reform. These are positive, productive, dynamic kinds of goals for Canada. That's a government that is concerned enough to take some chances on behalf of Canada. We're not playing it safe. So I think we'll be

judged on that, and what happens in the next six months is no more or no less important than what has happened in the previous six months or six years ago.

**Mulroney:** In light of the cut you are giving in the energy and agriculture sectors, will you be able to meet your target of keeping this year's federal budget deficit to \$10.5 billion?

**Mulroney:** I think [Finance Minister Michael] Wilson has conveyed to you his concerns about being able to meet that we had on. Obviously, we have had to act to help the energy and agriculture sectors. Commodity prices have dropped drastically from original expectations and so we're paying a price for that and it will impact on our figures. The important thing is that deficits are going down, not up. [Discretionary public spending is going down, but] interest rates are going down, not up. Unemployment figures are going down, not up. These are the things on which we will be judged.

**Mulroney:** Quebec has set its conditions for signing the Constitution. Are any of you not five units?

**Mulroney:** The negotiating process hasn't begun. My first objective in this was to ensure to the provincial premiers my wish that they undertake the process with an open mind and without encumbering the process with other items I hope it can be dealt with in a mood of serenity and reasonableness. Premier Bourassa has put out his views. It's my hope that some degree and variation of that package will find favour with the premiers and the federal government.

**Mulroney:** Do you feel you must get a trade agreement before 1985, when President Ronald Reagan, politically, will be a lame duck?

**Mulroney:** I think when President Reagan leaves, free traders will have lost a very valuable ally. He has stood very strongly and firmly for more liberalized trade, at considerable economic and political cost to himself. Which is not to say his side is always perfect. We might have been a little more, and we'll probably have more. But what remains is where we stand on a great historic challenge such as liberalized trade—making a more competitive and productive economy, opening it up to a vast new market of 250 million people. That's a tremendous job and wealth for Canada. So there's not the slightest doubt in my mind that this government stands on the right side of history. There will be setbacks, obviously. But ultimately we will prevail, and ultimately Canada will prosper. And I think that's the just and right thing for a strong, independent and mature country to endorse. □

## P.S. SEND MONEY

**T**he envelopes that landed in 50,000 Canadian mailboxes last week were most of the characteristic of junk mail inside each package was a low-price form letter addressed to "Dear Friend," an appeal for \$70 and a certificate offering a "money-back guarantee." But there was one unusual thing about the letter's source was the Liberal Party of Canada. The party's unprecedented offer to guarantee an performance endorsement if the need to pay a debt of more than \$4 million. It also signalled

that the key to the Tories' success was their masterful use of direct-mail fund-raising techniques imported from the United States. The party now sends out seven or eight mailings a year of up to 50,000 letters to regular supporters, as well as a few mailings of up to 500,000 soliciting new donors. "Clark had the foresight to see the potential," said Jack Buchanan, president of the Liberal Party of Canada Fund. "We were really lucky indeed." Last year the Liberals raised only \$4 million, compared to the party's \$4.3



Young: no more waiting until the election is called before knocking on doors

the Liberals' decision to rely more heavily on direct mail, the most powerful fund-raising system yet devised.

Generations of politicians have relied on door-to-door campaigns and an corporate beggars to raise money. But in recent years direct-mail appeals have become the backbone of party treasuries. All three parties attribute their newfound power to a 1974 amendment to the Canada Election Expenses Act, which made most contributions tax-deductible. At the time, some legislators said that the act would "loosen corporate influence on politics," but others claimed that it would have an unfavorable impact. Said Queen's University political scientist William Irvine: "The cynical view is that elections were starting to cost more than the hagen could raise."

**Reuben Bell,** the act provided a remarkable stimulus. In 1979 the three major parties together reported donations of \$12.5 million. Five years later the Conservatives alone raised \$21 mil-

lions and the Tories' \$146 million. **Litigation:** The new law has a financial provision of a different kind. The party has always relied for funds on unions and private donors because of a lack of business support. Donations from unions have accounted for as much as 30 per cent of revenues in election years. But in July an Ontario Supreme Court judge ruled that a union could not use the compulsory dues of members to support political activity. However, that judgment has been appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada. "It will take six or 18 years of litigation before we know what means we can and cannot do," said Dennis Young, vice federal secretary.

Whatever the court's verdict, all parties are likely to increase direct-mail activity. Declined Young: "The old notion that you waited until the election was called before knocking on doors [to raise funds] is gone."

—MARK CLARK in Ottawa

# TURNER'S NEW STRATEGY

## COVER

For John Brian Turner, it is likely to be a scene of heartening familiarity. More than 8,000 pairs of eyes will be trained on him at the party's national convention in Ottawa in November, and each delegate will likely be entertaining a similar thought: can the Liberal leader win the next election? Just 27 months ago at a dramatic leadership convention in Ottawa, another gathering of Liberals decided that he could not lose. Three months later the party was nearly crushed by Brian Mulroney's Conservative juggernaut. Now at midyear, Turner is preparing to ask his party for a second chance. And as most Liberals know, his future—and the party's—are inseparable.

**Reversal:** In the two years since his defeat, Turner, 51, has travelled more than 450,000 km across the country trying to rebuild the shattered Liberals. From St. John's to Victoria, from Whitehorse to Windsor, he recruited organizers, greeted voters, patiently answered questions on obscure open-air radio shows and, in the process, earned an ungrudging respect for his 35-member caucus. For his efforts, the party has climbed to 41 per cent from 31 per cent in public opinion polls—eight percentage points ahead of the Tories. But when Mulroney spoke to key Liberals across the nation last week, it was clear that doubts about Turner's leadership remain. Conceded George Young, former president of the party's Ontario association: "You have to look at it through the prism of opportunity."

To allay these fears, Turner will first try to persuade the delegates to the November assembly not to vote

for a new leadership convention. On paper, all he needs is 50 per cent to claim that he has the confidence of the party. Many party apparatchiks say Turner will easily win that vote—

As well, deep pockets of anti-Turner discontent exist in Quebec, Alberta and the Maritimes. Many Liberals favor Joe Clark, who contested Turner for the leadership in June.



Turner greets supporters near Clinton, Ont., after a rocky start; the Liberals lead in the polls

with as much as 75 per cent support. But the final tally is critical. Said Dennis Edwards, visiting professor of political science at Yale University and a former aide to Lester B. Pearson and Joe Clark: "Everything depends on the percentage of the vote he gets in the fall—even though nobody will admit it." Since former Conservative leader Joe Clark decided in 1983 that 60.9 per cent of his party's support did not give him a clear mandate to lead his party, that figure has become the unofficial benchmark. "Joe Clark has set the bottom," said one Liberal organizer. "You can't get less and hold on."

In 1984, and who resigned his seat last February, automatically to practice law. Party officials told Mulroney that there is no organized support—neither a pro-Christie movement nor a dump-Turner brigade. But these assurances have not stopped discontent from circling polls suggesting that the Liberals could do better with Christie at the helm.

**Weakness:** Not actively campaigning, Christie has let it be known that if he were asked to serve he would. Said a close friend: "Christie is playing a Mulroney's little game. He's making it quite evident that he still thinks he's a better man than Turner."

Still, senior Liberals acknowledge that if the party wins 50 per cent of the vote in the final vote, Sept. 29 by-election, a riding with strong Tory roots, Turner could instantly silence the murmurs of discontent. And whatever the verdict in Pembina, they concede that it would be politically damaging to change leaders now. After the 1984 defeat, Liberal planners envisaged an eight-year exile from power to rebuild support across the country. But with the plummeting fortunes of the Tories and support for the Liberals consistently out in front, some analysts contend that the party could regain power in two years. As a result, a leadership review now could be counterproductive.

**Credibility:** In the meantime, Turner is preparing a new parliamentary strategy for the fall. In the meantime, Mulroney has learned, it is to depict the party as a group ready to win the election. Said pollster Martin Goldfarb: "The Liberals are finding their position to be left of centre, and Turner is getting comfortable with that." To fight the next campaign, the party is computerizing membership lists and conducting direct-mail fund-raising (page 19). Much of it will be conducted from its spanking new headquarters scheduled to open in Ottawa in November. Turner is also trying to add new policy reasons to the old Liberal mix. An ideas conference is scheduled in May to re-examine the tenets of Liberalism and the issues facing the country.

But many Liberals say that the key to the next election lies in winning John Turner's personality and emphasizing the growing doubts about Brian Mulroney's credibility. Already, a campaign strategy is shaping up along the lines of "Joyce Kilmer" versus "Honest John." Said Edwards: "Brian Mulroney lacks credibility. That is a disastrous, disastrous thing for a government and a political leader."

**Machos:** Within the party, Turner is known as a decent, honest man. But whether he can win the next election remains in doubt. Said one senior Liberal: "People will appreciate that. They'll say, 'Maybe there's a chance.' But deep down they really don't think the guy's going to win." Others say Turner is not going to be "laid on" by his strength. "He's a very strong man, but he's not selfless (Robert) Stanfield—staid, but honest and straightforward. But he likes to see himself as a brilliant guy, macho, always first in his class, a Rhodes Scholar, a competitor to Brian Mulroney in the 100-yard dash. And he isn't."

—BRIAN MACKENZIE in OTTAWA

# BEING THERE

Mulroney's Ottawa correspondent Brian Mulroney interviewed Liberal leader John Turner after a recent speech to Quebec Liberals. Some excerpts.

**Mulroney's:** It's your second anniversary in opposition. Is there a level of support that you need to carry on?

**Turner:** No. There's no magic number. I'll learn the results as soon as everybody else, and I'll make my own judgment. But I am convinced there will be substantial support for my leadership.

**Mulroney's:** The Liberals are up to the polls. Are you the architect of this? Or is Brian Mulroney?

**Turner:** Let's call it a joint enterprise. I inherited a situation in which we had no simple provincial government, only two federal members west of Ontario, and not one provincial member in Western Canada or the Territories. If we had not made progress I would be amazed, as perhaps I should take some credit for it. The other side of the coin is that Mr. Mulroney has demonstrated a remarkable lack of direction.

**Mulroney's:** Is the party of Pierre Trudeau a Liberal party again?

**Turner:** I am not going to accept that premise. Mr. Trudeau was and is a Liberal. I am, however, the first leader of the party since 1968 who has to be truly a party person—managing campaigns, writing speeches, knocking on doors, muzzing the telephone. So my initial task was to restore the party to the grassroots. The party needed a little hug. I have met every one of the 885 riding presidents. In my view there was no substitute for being there.

**Mulroney's:** But can the party attribute a voice you're comfortable with?

**Turner:** I have no doubt about that. My difficulty was that I had been away for nine or 10 years. I had lost touch. The party didn't know I was back. I had to be retrained. And while the party is not unanimous by any means, generally

Liberals are comfortable with me. I intend to spell out in the next few months a vision of the country as I see it.

**Mulroney's:** Critics here and said you are too conservative and too soft for the people. TV age. Are you the wrong man for the wrong time?

**Turner:** I suffered for having been away a long time, then being thrown immediately into the front rank. It was not just technique style, but a matter of feeling comfortable with the issues.

**Mulroney's:** You've been accused of being born with a silver spoon in your mouth—like Prince Charles of Wales. But you're a politician. But you're a politician. But you're a politician. But you're a politician.

**Turner:** I returned to politics only because I was convinced that the party needed me and that I could make a contribution. I don't bring about my humble origins the way Mr. Mulroney does. But my mother was a nurse's daughter, and we used to live in a walk-up apartment. I don't deny it.

**Mulroney's:** I have been fantastic, but my beginnings were humble too.

**Mulroney's:** Are you just trying to prove that you are not a boss?

**Turner:** I was unexpectedly given a second chance to govern the country and take personal satisfaction from that. There are also sacrifices involved—particularly for my family. But the job is worth doing. If I don't do it, how can we otherwise compel people to offer themselves for public life? Besides, there's no pasteurized personal change.

**Mulroney's:** But there's a nagging doubt about whether you can win. Can you?

**Turner:** I have to believe no—otherwise I would not be here. Yes, I am confident that we can win. But I take nothing for granted. I have never been among those who think that I can win a third term right to govern. We will have to deserve to win—and earn the right to govern.



Turner party-hugging



Broadbent at St-Maurice, core vote: an improved standing in Quebec

## SEARCH FOR AN OPENING

COVER

It is the smoke and noise of a crowded Ottawa union hall, 36 Broadbent was euphoric—and relieved. It was election night in September, 1984, and the New Democratic leader and his party had not only matched the national Terry Landolt, they had won 36 seats. It is the excitement of the

moment, Broadbent pledged that the NDP would become "the real opposition" in Parliament. Two years later, with his party at a new plateau in opinion polls and poised for breakthrough in Quebec, there was even more optimism in NDP ranks. But at the midpoint of the Conservatives' term, Broadbent faced serious setbacks in his struggle to free the rise of its powerful third-party status.

**Regular:** Initially, the NDP came—with trenchant, well-researched questions for the government—made good as Broadbent's election-night undertaking and experienced a rally and uncharacteristic John Turner and his departed Liberal colleagues in the Commons. But Turner's performance improved steadily, and a young "Blat Pack" of fresh-faced Liberal MPs captured the media's attention. Basil University of Toronto historian Desmond Morton, "I don't think it happened the way the NDP thought it would, that virtue and good teamwork by the

backbenchers would be rewarded." Still, the vote has made sharp gains in opinion polls combined since 1984. Shortly before the election, the party was at a record low point—about 13 per cent support. On election day, that increased to 19 per cent, but the Mulroney/Dorcen poll showed that 26 per cent of voters would now vote for the NDP in an election, compared to 13 per cent for the Conservatives and 35 per cent for the Liberals. And Broadbent's personal approval rating has been consistently higher than either Prime Minister Brian Mulroney or Turner's.

**Benefit:** The NDP's standing has also improved dramatically in Quebec, a province where the party has never elected a member of Parliament. A June survey by the Montreal-based Montreal pollster agency put the NDP two points ahead of the Conservatives in Quebec at 30 per cent and just 12 points behind the Liberals. Basil veteran NDP MP Louise Nadeau

secretary Denis Young revealed that his party had benefited from the voters' mood, but he added, "We're more interested in trend lines than poll results for any week, and the trend lines are positive."

**Target:** Private NDP polls mirror the national surveys, but the Mulroney's poll showed voters were generally more than half of new-committed respondents and that they might change their minds between now and election day 1988. The NDP's situation has not been as promising since the mid-1980s, when the party broke through the roughly 11 per cent level of national support and reached about 19 per cent, where it hovered for nearly 35 years.

Clearly, the NDP's battle to be taken seriously as a national party will be won or lost in Quebec. As a result, the party has peered ever-narrowing margins into winning support in the politically volatile province. Its chief voter: left-of-centre social democrats

who have abandoned the more regrouping Parti Québécois. One notable exception was longtime PQ activist Claude Bourgois, who is running for the party in the Sept. 29, St-Maurice by-election to fill the seat left vacant by Liberal war-horse Jean Chrétien's resignation. In Ottawa, many members regularly ask questions in the House in French, a membership drive had yielded 1,000 members in Quebec by July, and Broadbent himself took an 11-day camping tour of the province last month gaining wide media coverage.

But Morton, whose book on the NDP will be published this fall, says that the party should not be deceived by its sudden popularity in Quebec. "I don't believe anything about Quebec polls until people have gone into a polling booth on election day and marked their ballots." And there is an additional risk—that the NDP's traditional support in the West may erode if too much attention is paid to Quebec. Mulroney's NDP Premier Howard Payton told Mulroney, "The Canadians don't want any political party to become overly involved in the issue of one particular group just now."

**Critique:** A more fundamental difficulty, according to some observers, is whether the NDP left-of-centre policies can ever appeal to more than a small segment of Canadian voters. Other critics question whether social democratic solutions to economic problems, first formulated by the CP, still apply in the 1980s. Party spokesman Martin said that NDP thinking has progressed beyond outdated prescriptions of state-directed manipulation of the economy. Instead of redistributing wealth, the party now acknowledges that economic policies must concentrate on creating it. But party members also note that economists are rarely won or lost over five points of policy. The critical task, they say, will be to convince Canadians that the NDP is a national party capable of forming a government.

As to why the NDP cannot win next week at Harrison Hot Springs, B.C., to discuss its strategy for the new session of Parliament. The goal, ensuring that the party's historic opportunity for substantial gains will not be lost, observed Denis Morton, "It's all about the NDP's situation. The better you do in the polls, the harder you run to stay there and try to get ahead." For veterans of short-lived NDP surges in the past, the hope is that this time the party can generate enough momentum to change the economy in ways that are compatible with a number of social goals, like full employment.

—MICHAEL ROSE, in Ottawa

## AN NDP SURGE

**Macleans' Ottawa correspondent Michael Rose interviewed Bill Broadbent in Ottawa just before the NDP leader travelled to Quebec to campaign for Claude Bourgois, the party's candidate in the Sept. 29, St-Maurice by-election.**

**Macleans:** Immediately after the 1984 election, you pledged to make the NDP the real opposition in Parliament. Have you achieved that goal?

**Broadbent:** In one sense, yes. On the other, no. The NDP was the issue—on Mr. Mulroney's backdown on pensions, on Star Wars, on free trade—the NDP has been vigorous and clear in its disagreements with the government. What I didn't have the promise to see was that the Liberals, once becoming an opposition, have essentially depoliticized war position.

**Macleans:** How much emphasis among voters is there about what distinguishes the two opposition parties?

**Broadbent:** For a number of people there could be some difficulty in separating the positions of the NDP from the Liberals. At the same time, there is a growing minority who do understand the difference and who do believe that the NDP speaks with greater authenticity. So now, in Quebec and Atlantic Canada, new people are prepared to vote for the NDP.

**Macleans:** There is a very significant difference. The other parties are much more committed to the principle of a corporate global economy, of allowing market forces to go where they will. A social democratic party recognizes "a role for the market in the economy, as opposed to the "role for the market. We have all signs been much more conscious that political power should be used to reshape the economy in ways that are compatible with a number of social goals, like full employment.

**Macleans:** Can you explain the surge

in NDP popularity in the polls? **Broadbent:** It's a combination of factors. In Quebec, we are now getting a lot of voters and activists who were involved in the Parti Québécois, and their main thrust was for independence of some kind. At the same time, former Liberals are coming to us. Pierre Trudeau was seen to be a left-wing Liberal and when Trudeau left that freed a lot of small-

Liberals to shift to us. **Macleans:** What plans do you have to establish a lasting presence in Quebec?

**Broadbent:** A big organizational drive is on now. In the last session of Parliament we had all the branches of the Quebec trade union movement move to us about concrete issues—health and pension changes. That didn't happen before. And there is a reselling effort to small businesses and other groups in Quebec—which we take for granted in other provinces.

**Macleans:** Will you elaborate on your NDP wings by focusing on Quebec?

**Broadbent:** The risk is there, and it's been openly discussed. But without recognition, they simply support what we are doing. They

know that for us to make a real breakthrough at the national level, we have to make a breakthrough in Quebec to establish the support and working support in Quebec.

**Macleans:** What do you think has been the government's major problem?

**Broadbent:** An absence of a sense of what is important. A prime minister has to be driven by something, have a sense of purpose about his mission, other than winning power. The symbolic thing that Mulroney may get to crush is the free trade thing. But he hasn't been seen to remain firm in his resolve about that. For him to survive in anything other than a minority government, which everyone sees plainly as coming soon unless things are changed, he has to announce something that he believes in and is seen to be fighting for. □

Broadbent, support

# RETURN OF A BACKROOM BOY

COVER

"If I am wrong, then the usual penalties of politics will prevail."

**W**hen Dalton Kingsley Camp made that statement—on Sept. 30, 1960—he was the leader of the campaign that, only two months later, led to the overthrow of John Diefenbaker as leader of the Progressive Conservative party. But the words were equally applicable to Camp's latest assignment.

ing—and was a leadership review. Camp later contended that he was working for party democracy, but his role in Diefenbaker's subsequent downfall earned him the contempt of many Tories.

**Swamp:** After failing in 1963 and again in 1968 to win a Toronto-area seat in the House of Commons, Camp entered a period of voluntary exile in his native New Brunswick, there, he built a journalism career while con-

policy orientation of the government," according to the official assignment. But Tory insiders said that Camp's job would complement the work of Senator Norman Atkins, the man charged with preparing the party for the next federal election. Atkins, a brother of Camp's first wife, is also his partner in Camp Associates, the Toronto advertising company. Said a Tory consultant who is close to Camp, "Norman will look after the organizational side of things, and I will provide him with some flesh for the bones, some policies to put into that system to sell."

**Dangers:** Camp's new job will involve a major change in lifestyle. He has spent much of the past decade writing books and a nationally syndicated newspaper column on an 80-acre retreat called Northwood, near Jernigan, N.B., where he shares a spectacular split-level brick-and-wood house with his wife, Wendy, and his son Christopher, 7.

Wendy Camp said last week that she and her husband were "playing it by ear" about moving to Ottawa.

Despite his physical isolation, Camp was never far from the centre of Conservative affairs. During the 1964 election campaign he wrote speeches for Mulroney and quietly offered strategic advice. Camp also provided contacts—and outspoken support in his column—for New Brunswick's Richard Bedford, after the Conservative premier was charged with fraud conviction in 1984. But, last week Camp was reluctant to talk about his role—or about the dangers facing Mulroney. In one of his last public appearances he assumed the neutrality demanded of civil servants, he said. "It's not to step back and comment on going the best," Camp's continuing role as the dean of Conservative strategists will depend in part on how well he meets that challenge.

—MICHAEL BORD in Ottawa with  
JENNIFER GALLIE in Fredericton and  
PAUL STEINBERG in St. John's



Camp at Northwood, his New Brunswick retreat. "Dalton will provide some flesh for the bones."

With his appointment last week as senior adviser to the federal cabinet, the veteran Tory strategist, advertising executive and journalist (initially becomes one of the most powerful figures in Ottawa. He will also inherit much of the blame if his advice fails to improve the standing of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his Conservative government. Emerging from his first cabinet meeting last week, Camp said that it is "just a bureaucracy." But few analysts who have watched his durable, 27-year career in the Tory backrooms accepted his modest assessment.

**Background:** At 65, Camp is still best known for his role in unseating Diefenbaker. After the Conservative defeat of 1965—their second electoral setback in three years—Camp became the focus for disaffection with The Chief's leadership. Winning re-election as party president, Camp led the demands at the party's 1966 general meet-

ing to serve as the party's gray eminence. Said one senior Conservative official: "The Diefenbaker thing meant Dalton could not play a public role, but he discovered he could be just as influential with a low profile."

Camp had dabbled with Liberal politics during his undergraduate days at the University of New Brunswick. But at the urging of Professor Harold Lassie, under whom he studied at the London School of Economics, he again became involved in politics. But disenchanted with the Liberals, Camp joined the Conservatives. Returning to Canada in 1960, he quickly built a reputation as a shrewd political organizer. In the 1960s he managed election campaigns that disposed Liberal governments in four provinces, and in 1963 he took charge of Conservative headquarters for the federal election campaign.

In his new role, Camp will be a civil servant, giving advice "on the general

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# STARS ON THE FAR HORIZON

COVER

Across the country, talented politicians of all ideological stripes are just beginning to make their mark on the national, provincial or municipal scenes. Michael's profiles eight of those rising stars.



**Paul Martin, Jr.**  
Liberal opposition

The son of Paul Martin, former cabinet minister under the late Lester B. Pearson, the younger Martin is president and part-owner of the CIL Group, a Montreal-based transportation company which controls such buildings as Canada Shopping Centre. An ally of Liberal Leader John Turner, Martin is the chief co-ordinator of Quebec candidate recruitment—and a major contributor to the party's struggle to develop more credible social and economic policies. He is widely expected to run in the next election—and, at 38, is considered a potential successor to Turner.



**Kim Campbell,**  
British Columbia  
Social Credit Party  
activist

Tough-minded and intelligent, Campbell became executive director of Premier William Bennett's office last year after terms as a lecturer and Vancouver school board chairman. She joined 15 other candidates in the race to replace Bennett last July—and placed last with 14 votes. But she impressed delegates with her courageous attack on current Premier William Vander Zalm: "Be aware of charisma without substance." As a probable candidate in the next election, Campbell, 30, is a strong contender for a cabinet post.

**Gordon Dick,** Saskatchewan Social Services minister

An evangelical Christian, Dick, 39, was an administrator at the Canadian Bible College in Regina when he was elected to the Saskatchewan legislature in 1982. A year later Premier Grant

Devine appointed the staunchly conservative Dick to cabinet as social services minister. There, Dick masterminded a major overhaul of the welfare system that diverted social assistance dollars to provide training and jobs for welfare recipients. Late last year Devine added the urban affairs ministry, responsible for the Public Service Commission. A passionate opponent of socialism, Dick is seen by many as a possible successor to Devine.



**Rhyle Wayne,** Saint John, N.B., mayor

A veteran member of the Saint John city council, Wayne, 54, became the first female mayor in the city's history when she defeated the incumbent in a landslide victory in 1983. She won again last spring, breaking a 20-year pattern in which incumbents were always defeated. Spirited and charismatic, she tirelessly promotes Saint John as "the greatest little city in the East"—and she has worked hard to attract convention and trade business to revitalize the downtown area. A former secretary and partner in a telephone repair business, Wayne has never indicated a political preference. Despite that reticence, she is considered a Conservative—and mentioned as a possible successor to Conservative Premier Richard Hatfield.



**Howard McCurdy,**  
New Democratic  
Party

A former member of the Windsor, Ont., city council, the forceful 54-year-old McCurdy entered the House of Commons in 1984 as the only black in the caucus. Since then, he has endeavored the government with a succession of disclosures, including last March's revelation that a former minister planned to use government funds to recruit new party members. His passionate and compelling opposition to the apartheid system of racial segregation in South Africa has won praise across the nation.



**Gary Doer,** Manitoba Urban Affairs minister

The star scored a major victory last winter when it surprised Doer, then president of Manitoba's Government Employees' Association, to run in the March provincial election. During seven years as a union president, the vibrant Doer, 35, had opposed both the Conservatives and the New Democrats, and rejecting both their political advances. Now in cabinet, Doer is viewed as a potential successor to Premier Howard Pawley.



**Monique Landry,**  
minister of state  
for external relations

A former physiotherapist, Landry, 35, was one of 88 Quebec Conservatives swept into Parliament during the 1984 federal election. The rookie MP learned her way around Ottawa as a parliamentary secretary—first to the secretary of state, then to the minister of international trade. Last June she overthrew and displaced Landry's female champion of her Montreal golf club—joined the Mulroney cabinet as the minister responsible for the Canadian International Development Agency with its \$1.8-billion foreign aid budget.



**Wayne Cheevers,** Prince Edward Island Justice minister

As a bright and ambitious student from Charlottetown's centre core, Cheevers worked his way through university and law school—and then established a successful local law practice. In the provincial election last April, he broke the Liberal candidate despite former premier James Lee in a stunning upset—an achievement that promptly earned him the nickname "The Giant Killer." An intelligent minister with a flair for the oratory, Cheevers, 38, has impressed Islanders with his commitment to preserving old liberties from casual infringement.



Ontario's Peterman (left) with Alberta's Getty. The voters are disenchanted.

## BACKLASH IN THE PROVINCES

The performance of the federal government often affects the popularity of provincial governments. The election of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in 1984 has produced major political realignments in all 10 provinces. Mulroney's Senior Writer Mary Joerges examined the phenomenon. Her report:

**W**hen Ontario Premier David Peterson takes his Liberal party to the polls, probably next spring, his principal campaign targets will not be the provincial Conservatives or New Democratic opposition. Instead, Peterson's strategists have decided to capitalize on the strong public animosity that they detect toward Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his Conservative government. The Peterson approach will be subtle. As one senior organizer told Mulroney's "It's not good politics in Ontario to bash the feds. So we will stress that the premier is a man who made commitments and kept them—and I think the public will make the obvious association with Ottawa."

The Ontario plan underlines how dramatically the federal-provincial climate has changed since Mulroney took office in 1984. Then, there were seven

provincial Conservative governments, as well as Parti Québécois (Quebec), NPD (Manitoba) and Social Credit (British Columbia) governments across the country. Now, Liberals control three provincial legislatures (Prince Edward Island, Ontario and Quebec), while the five remaining Tory premiers—in Alberta, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia—are facing difficulties.

**Alleging:** In prosperous Ontario and Quebec, the Liberal governments are riding a wave of popularity that they attribute, in part, to their disengagement with the federal Tories. Meanwhile, east and west, many Canadians accuse Mulroney of ignoring regional needs. As Alberta Premier Donald Getty noted last month, "We don't have the kind of policies coming out of Ottawa we hoped we would have."

In British Columbia, federal Tory problems are aggravated by a potential economic downturn. Before the election, the province was still with the closing of Expo 86 in October, Premier William Vander Zalm is expected to call a fall election. The premier, who won a leadership convention last month, inherited an ailing, resource-based economy threatened by sluggish

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**COVER**

U.S. tariffs on B.C. lumber. Said Arthur Goddard, a provincial Liberal candidate: "British Columbia is starting to feel ripped and alienated."

Across the Prairies, voters are experiencing both depressed oil and wheat prices—and allegations in all parties is weakening. In Alberta, Getty was only 51 per cent of the popular vote in last May's election—a political disaster in that traditional bastion of Tory support. In Saskatchewan, Premier Grant Devine's Tories and the SNP are virtually tied in the polls but one-third of the electorate is undecided. Said Larry Eftis, a market researcher at Regina's Hudson Research: "The problem is that many people feel that no party represents them." And many analysts say that Manitoba Premier Howard Pawley was his narrow NDP election victory last March in part because of the unpopularity of the federal Tories.

**Cheer:** In Ontario and Quebec, the provincial Liberal parties are thriving—but there, too, the electorate remains volatile. A recent Ontario star survey shows that voters aged 25 to 39 were split any one of three ways on the political spectrum only freely. In Quebec, the approval rating of Premier Robert Bourassa has hovered between 50 and 60 per cent since the December election, while the federal Tories—with 55 per cent support in the Madison/Gosselin poll—trail the Liberals (41 per cent) and narrowly lead the SNP (21 per cent). And Tory sentiment is rising in the Maritimes as well. In New Brunswick, Conservative Premier Richard Hatfield must face voters before next fall—handicapped by both his own declining popularity and Mulroney's. In Nova Scotia, a recent Confederation Newsmag poll showed the opposition Liberals with 44 per cent support, compared to just 30 per cent for Premier John Buchanan's Conservatives. In Prince Edward Island last month, a stand-off 50-50 at Charlottetown's annual Gold Cup and Bazaar saw a recent general federal Conservative Minister Tom McMillan—a native son—with strong allies, then erupted into cheers for Liberal Premier Joe Ghis, elected last April.

Newfoundland Premier Brian Peckford, re-elected in 1985, seems reasonably secure. But former Tory MP John Lundquist observed: "There is general cynicism. People are madder than hell at everybody." Added Tom Young, who hosts an open-line radio show in Saint John: "The Mulroney government took a tremendous majority into Ottawa—and it has completely botched it. A Tory worker told me, 'They have forgotten where New Brunswick is.'"

Turning up with frequency in voter surveys, views of that nature are a source of concern for all Conservatives.

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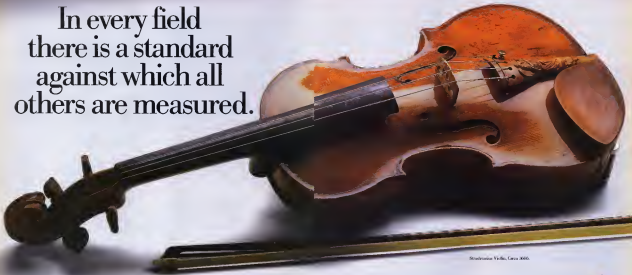
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# A captain confesses

Shortly after fishermen found 155 Sri Lankan refugees adrift in the Hakkala off the rocky Newfoundland coast last month, an international search was launched for the ship that carried them on the dangerous 4,000-mile voyage from West Germany. Then, reporters began speaking by ship-to-shore radio with Wolfgang Bredel, West German captain of the freighter *Aargua*, who may have re-

ceived \$475,000 for transporting the Tamil refugees in the hold of his ship. But Bredel denied any involvement in the clandestine voyage and refused to disclose his exact location. Finally, last week a reporter from *The Toronto Star* traced the 425-ton, Honduran-registered *Aargua* to the port of Las Palmas in Spain's Canary Islands. There, Bredel acknowledged that he had ferried the refugees to Canada. The cap-

tain told reporter John Piron "That is where they wanted to go. They made the choice." Earlier Bredel told the *Star*: "I did everything to save the lives of the people."

At the request of the Honduran government, port authorities in Las Palmas last week seized the *Aargua*. The ship, with Bredel still on board, was under guard by Spanish authorities. Said Honduran Ambassador Humberto Lopez Villalón: "We have the evidence to show the *Aargua* took part in this crime and we're not going to permit any ship within our flag to break international law."

In Ottawa, RCMP officials were conducting their own investigation. A spokesman said the officers will try to establish "whether any infraction against the criminal or immigration codes was committed." But officials added that charges could only be laid against the captain if they could prove that an offence was committed while the *Aargua* was within 12 nautical miles of Canadian shores. Even then, it might be impossible to bring Bredel to Canada, because immigration offences are not covered in the nation's extradition treaties with West Germany or Spain.

Legal action against Bredel will not affect the refugees themselves, who have been given government permission to stay in Canada for at least one year. By last week about half of the 61 Tamil infants with Toronto families had found jobs, mostly in factories, according to Sri Sri-Sekunda-Rajah, public relations co-ordinator for the city's Asian Tamil Society. Said Sri-Sekunda-Rajah: "Without exception every offer has been generous and bona fide." In Montreal, the Sun Youth organization opened its emergency food and clothing banks to fill refugees.

Meanwhile, it was revealed last week that an immigrant group working with Tamil refugees had asked Ottawa about the appointment of Gen. Tissa Weeratunga as Sri Lanka's high commissioner to Canada in May. The Toronto-based group has alleged that Weeratunga commanded an army unit which fought a violent campaign against Tamil rebels in northern Sri Lanka and claimed that Amnesty International had found evidence that torture was used. But External Affairs Minister Joe Clark has responded that the Sri Lankan government denies Weeratunga was involved in human rights violations. The rebels want to establish a separate homeland for the Hindu Tamils as a refuge against what they claim as persecution by Sri Lanka's Buddhist Sinhalese majority. And the controversy over the diplomatic appointment renewed the debate over that divisive issue. ☐

# 'A beautiful deal' indeed

The lawyer stood intently at the grey-haired businessman on the witness stand. "Are you a fairly tough negotiator when it comes to commercial transactions?" he asked. Aslan Cusipa returned the level gaze. "I think so," he replied. But David Scott, counsel for the judicial inquiry investigating conflict-of-interest charges against Sinclair Stevens, clearly disagreed. Last week Scott claimed that the terms of Cusipa's \$2.6-million loan in 1983 to Norman Stevens, wife of the former industry minister, were more generous than "a prudent lender" would have arranged.

According to Scott, the controversial loan included provisions that prevented Cusipa from getting any benefit—excepting them a deferred interest payments until the second year of the five-year loan. In fact, Scott suggested, Cusipa had made the loan at the request of Frank Stremach, chairman of Magna International Inc., the giant Ontario-based auto-parts manufacturer that Cusipa helped found—and a company that received contracts worth millions of dollars from Stevens's departments. Norman Stevens had requested Magna's help in retooling the Stevens's family General engine. The closure of the loan last spring led to the inquiry, chaired by Judge William Parker of the Ontario High Court.

In testimony last week Cusipa denied Scott's charge. He declared, "It was a beautiful deal for me." And the Australian-born businessman also said that, far from seeking political favour from Sinclair Stevens, he did not discover that Norman Stevens was the industry minister's wife until after the loan agreement was completed.

Questioning Cusipa and James McAlpine, Magna's former vice-president of finance, Scott noted that Magna's "letter of comfort" to the Bank of Nova Scotia, provided Cusipa—still a consultant to the firm—with a \$3-million line of credit, essentially making his 10-per-cent interest loan to Stevens risk-free. The letter said that the loan would facilitate Cusipa's real estate acquisitions for Magna, which would assume the debt should Cusipa "suffer any financial difficulties." Cusipa advanced the funds to Stevens just days after the letter was dated. In fact, Scott noted, before writing a cheque for \$2.6 million, Cusipa had not even ran credit checks on Norman Stevens or his companies. ☐

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Kennedy: boyish charm, instantly recognizable features and the legacy of his slain father and uncle lie close to his up to

WORLD

## All in a Boston family



Senator Robert Kennedy and nephew of slain President John F. Kennedy, immediately put his boyish charm to work. As a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Massachusetts' Eighth District in the House of Representatives, a seat which will become vacant with the retirement of Thomas (Tip) O'Neill Jr., he approached a group of elderly women and began to exchange pleasantries. The occasion was a recent clean-up operation organized by his campaign staff at a

run-down park in Boston's working-class Charlestown district. And while Kennedy's wife, Sherry, and sister, Kerry, started cutting weeds, Kennedy jovially addressed each woman as "kiddo" and cheerfully called them and their ideas "beautiful." The Kennedy name seemed to work. Last area resident Lillian Butler as the early-haired politician moved out of earshot. "He's a good kid. And they all look alive, don't they?" But the family connection is a mixed blessing, even in Boston. About five hours later at a United Irish Societies meeting in the city's ethnic suburb of Watertown, Kennedy was the last of nine Eighth District candidates to speak on Irish-American issues. Some members of the crowd, who had been making liberal use of the cash bar at the back of the hall, became antisemitic. And al-

though Kennedy was able to deflect most of the interjections, the situation soured when a man loudly insisted that the candidate's uncle, Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy, had blocked efforts to reunite Ireland. The would-be Congressman tried a joke: "Do you agree with everything your uncle's ever said?" When the heckler persisted, Kennedy, his voice tinged with anger, finally shot back over a chorus of boos, jeers and applause: "Listen, pal. The fact of the matter is I'm not asking for a single person's vote in this election based on my last name. And the fact is I'm proud of the work my uncle has done."

According to politicos, Kennedy is the favorite to win the seat's Sept. 16 primary, which picks the party's candidate for the Nov. 4 midterm congressional election. In heavily Democratic Boston, vic-



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farm, my crops and my machines. They are all part of me and being a farmer—as is sweat, and drought, and disease, and depression, and one hundred and one other heart-aches that other men may never know or feel. But, I'm still glad to be a farmer.

It's not because being a farmer is easy. It isn't. It's not because farmers are famous. We're not. It's not because a farmer is wealthy. I'm not. It's simply because I know what I

am, and I know what I feel. It's pride, satisfaction and honest labor. It's being able to sleep each night and being glad to go to work in the morning. I wouldn't have it any other way.

Yes, I'm glad to be a farmer, but because, tomorrow, I might not be able to be a farmer.

Me, the farmer.

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try in the Democratic primary usually amounts to election itself—the party's candidate is almost guaranteed to overwhelm the Republicans' favorite, Clark Abt, in November. But the tremendous impact of a Kennedy victory on the U.S. political scene would be relatively minor. In the House, all 435 seats are at stake in November and the Democrats are expected to emerge from the balloting with much of the 79-seat majority they gained in 1984 intact. The major battle will take place in the 100-seat Senate where, with 34 seats being contested, the Republicans are fighting to maintain their six-seat majority.

Still, Massachusetts' Eighth District has been an important base for the Democrats in recent years. It has been held since 1953 by the formidable O'Neill, who has also been Speaker of the House for the past 20 years. Over the decade, O'Neill has developed it as one of the most powerful Democratic Congressional Hill and one of President Ronald Reagan's fiercest policy opponents. Now, Kennedy faces a potential challenge from three of his opponents. One is a political maverick in his own right, James Roosevelt, Jr., grandson of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The others are Massachusetts State Senator George Bachrach and Melvin King, a respected black community leader and runner-up in Boston's 1980 mayoralty

run. In surprising fashion, all four main candidates support cuts in military spending, nuclear arms reductions and the expansion of social programs.

The Eighth District encompasses several blue-collar areas of Boston and Cambridge, the neighborhoods around Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and Boston's fashionable Beacon Hill and Back Bay neighborhoods. In 1984, its voters cast only 26 percent of their ballots for Reagan, and in 1972 they supported George McGovern in the Democratic presidential primary. But Kennedy clearly differs from his opponents on at least two emotionally charged issues. Leaders say that because of his father's association in 1955 by Palestinian immigrant Sirhan Sirhan—now serving a life sentence in Soledad, Calif.—he supports the death penalty. Unlike many liberal Democrats, Kennedy also supports military aid to El Salvador.

And at a time when Democrats are searching for a new direction, a Kennedy win could be a harbinger of the party's changing face. Said one Bachrach aide: "If they elect Joe, people will say that even a Kennedy



O'Neill fiercely opposing the President's policies

has to move to the right to win." Still, most contenders complain that issues have been secondary to personality and celebrity in the campaign. Said Michael Goldman, a Boston area consultant working for Kennedy: "In the end

there has to be a rationale for people not to vote for Joe. And that doesn't exist." Added a longtime observer of Boston politics: "Kennedy is a celebrity and that gives him very strong pull with uneducated, lower-class voters. It looks like he has it wrapped up." A recent Boston television and radio opinion poll showed Kennedy leading Bachrach 58 percent to 32.

Kennedy's campaign handlers have concentrated on presenting his public service record, avoiding as far as possible coverage by the international media. In fact, the Kennedy camp has restricted the screen of foreign television crews, especially when Kennedy canvasses blue-collar areas. Said campaign press secretary Pamela Hughes: "Joe's international reputation isn't an asset in working class areas. If the neighborhood harbor men Joe with a Japanese television crew he might think this Joe wasn't be interested in helping with his social security or some other problem."

At the same time, Kennedy has established his interest in helping the poor. His nonprofit Citizens Energy Corp., which he founded seven years ago, buys crude oil in bulk, refines it and provides heating oil to the underprivileged at 38 to 48 per cent below market price. It pays for the operation by selling gasoline and other byproducts of the refining process to commercial customers. (As

Owens branch collects and sells donations of heating oil from homeowners converting their furnaces to natural gas. It uses the proceeds for youth programs.) Recently, the corporation has expanded to include subsidized electricity and a prospective drug plan. Said Goldman: "I don't think people would consider voting for him if he was just a Kennedy and had not started Citizens Energy." Some political opponents also note that Citizens Energy billboards dotted Boston until Kennedy removed them upon entering the primary race. They read: "We should be left out in the cold. Please Joe Kennedy."

Bachrach says that if he wins the race, "the headline will read: 'Kennedy loses.' " A former prosecuting lawyer who grew up near New York City, Bachrach is stressing a combative legislative style and "unabashed liberalism" in his campaign. "I'm not one of those people who thinks it is outrageous that Joe is running," Bachrach recently told a small fund-raising crowd. "But we came from different backgrounds and different experiences. Some of them are fundamental differences." He added in an interview: "To some degree I have the legacy of Robert Kennedy and Joe doesn't in terms of substance and action."

Kennedy supporters dispute Bachrach's claims he stronger political commitment, but they do acknowledge — off

the record—that Kennedy is less disciplined than his main opponent. For one thing, Kennedy had an uncompromising school career: Having dropped out of high school, he later attended intermittently until the University of California at Berkeley and the University of Massachusetts in Boston before obtaining a Legal Education Services degree. And in 1972 he acquired a reputation for recklessness when a car he was driving overturned in Nantucket, leaving one of six passengers partially paralyzed.

Kennedy's older sister, Kathleen Townsend, 34, is also dabbling as a candidate in the current midterm campaign. She is running for the House in Maryland. Townsend enrolled at Radcliffe and the University of New Mexico law school. As well, she has worked with homeless people in New York and Navajo Indians in the western desert. Townsend will likely win her Democratic primary, but she will then face a tough battle against Republican incumbent Helen Bentley Stoll, the two new Kennedys on the political stage share a common problem: comparisons with their famous relatives. With both Robert and John Kennedy widely revered in the pantheon of American political leaders, Kathleen and Joseph have a daunting record—and myth—to live up to.

—IAN AUSTIN in Boston

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# Lake Nios's angry cloud of death



Delivering relief aid, Rye (below) killed grass, 'destroying nothing but killing all life'

The explosion took place at about 9:30 p.m. In the village of Reuben in the west African nation of Cameroon, Chas David Warming had a sudden warm feeling. "I felt like I was drunk," recalled Warming. "The smell was like cooking with kitchen gas." Coughing badly and paralyzed on one side of his body, Warming staggered out of his house to find his family screaming on the ground. "I saw water screaming and falling down," he said. "Some people were vomiting blood." Many people ran to try to escape the cloud of toxic gases that had erupted from a supposedly extinct volcano near Lake Nios, 400 km northwest of the Cameroonian capital, Yaoundé. Others tore off their clothes in reaction to the intense heat. Still others simply suffocated in their sleep.

As rescue workers poured into the remote mountainous region last week, they came upon an eerie valley of death encompassing 10 square miles and four villages. Rev. Fred Tern Horn, a Roman Catholic missionary from Holland who was one of the first outsiders to arrive at the scene, said that in one hour he saw hundreds of dead people and cattle. "It was as if a neutron bomb had exploded," he said. "Destroying nothing but killing all

life." Winds and rains helped to dissipate the gases, but Cameroonian soldiers covered their faces with gas masks or handkerchiefs as they hurriedly sheltered victims into shallow mass graves, an attempt to keep decomposing bodies from causing an epidemic. By week's end the United Nations Disaster Relief Organization in Geneva reported that 1,796 people had been killed and 421 hospitalized in what some experts called the worst underwater gas eruption ever.

The exact cause of the explosion was not known. Nor were scientists certain precisely what gas or combination of gases, which can accumulate in lake bed sediments over many years, was the killer, although carbon dioxide seemed to be the prime suspect. France and the United States dispatched scientists to the area to study the rare geological occurrence. Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, who visited Warming's last week on a previously planned mission to restore diplomatic relations be-

about eight kilometers away. Spotting dead animals as well as dead people—and finding himself—he traveled back to Wam and alerted authorities. Two days later, President Paul Biya visited the region and declared it a disaster area.

In Nios, population 1,200, only four people were known to have survived. Elsewhere, Kenneth Fricke, an Edmonton native working as a Baptist missionary in Wam, said that he traveled to Sokebam on Monday and found that more than half the Baptist congregation of 200 had been killed. Even after most of the human remains had been buried, hundreds of cattle were still lying dead and bleated in grassy fields. "The cows have no relatives," said Lt.-Gen. James Tafari, who was in charge of the disaster

area. "Their burial will be the last." The lethal gases also killed much of the area's vegetation, including coffee and banana plants. And volcanic material turned Lake Nios a muddy red, a stark change from the brilliant Nio-



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that local residents to nickname it "The Good Lake."

Unusual as it was, the day the Good Lake turned bad was not the first time an underwater eruption had occurred in Cameroon. On Aug. 15, 1984, gases spewed from beneath Lake Manoua, just 300 km from Lake Nioa in the same chain of volcanic mountains, killing 37 people. After studying that incident, a U.S. scientific team said that it may have been caused by a landslide or small earth tremor and that the primary gas was carbon dioxide, which suffocates victims by displacing vital oxygen in the air.

Last week some U.S. experts, visiting

to resume relations between Cameroon and Israel, Cameroon was one of 16 black African states that severed ties with the Jerusalem government after Israel's occupation of the Sinai peninsula during the 1973 Yom Kippur War with Egypt. Since Israel returned the Sinai to Egypt in 1982, four of those nations—Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast were the first three—have now reversed relations. And Perez said that "another two to four black African countries are willing in the wings." One obstacle to the diplomatic gains is Israel's image in Africa as an economic supporter of the south African regime. But Perez joined Riva last week



Lake Nioa, site of the volcanic eruption: the day the Good Lake turned bad

that volcanic activity had been reported in the area recently, said that a landslide or minor earthquake might also have triggered the Lake Nioa eruption. Others said that volcanic magma, or molten rock, might have heated the water and stored up the gas-filled sediments. The Cameroon government at first announced that the killer gas was hydrogen sulfide, which gives off the rotten-egg scent that many survivors reported smelling. High concentrations of hydrogen sulfide can kill by paralyzing the breathing process. But members of the French scientific team and the Israeli medical team said that the Cameroonians may have been killed by a combination of carbon dioxide and hydrogen sulfide. And Dr. Yark Hamilton, a volcanologist with the Geological Survey of Canada in Victoria, said he suspected that carbon dioxide and carbon monoxide—which is common in the Cameroonians' diets—"are the two most important culprits."

The Lake Nioa catastrophe overshadowed Perez's 26-hour visit to Yaoundé, where Riva officially agreed

in sharply denouncing what he described as Pretoria's "white system" of apartheid. Cameroonian officials are now expected to make major purchases of Israeli fighter planes and communications equipment.

But most of their immediate attention is focused on the Lake Nioa disaster. Late last week some survivors began returning to the area, despite government warnings that food and water there are still contaminated. "We cannot keep people away," said Gen. Tetteh. "The villagers want to guard their property." Still, worried Eric Hangland, co-ordinator of the US relief effort. "Could it happen again, and how soon?" For the survivors of the Lake Nioa eruption, many of them nomads who believe that spirits occupy such natural phenomena as volcanoes, the hope is that the volcano god will never grow angry again.

—BOB LYNN with LYNN DOUGET in ABIDJAN, DAVID BROWNESEN in Jerusalem and HILARY MARENDAISE in Geneva

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Peterson (middle) with Asano (right) and Osamu Suzuki at Suzuki Motor Co. Ltd. job.

## BUSINESS/ECONOMY

# Ontario revs up with auto dollars

The request from an unidentified buyer was a puzzling one. In July, 1986, Edward Hunt, the industrial commissioner for the town of Ingersoll, Ont., received a telephone call from a real estate agent who told him that a 100-acre site near the town of Ingersoll, 200 km to the southwest. The agent told Hunt that he had an anonymous client who wished to purchase at least 400 acres of land. Within days, Hunt replied that a 579-acre agricultural site near the town's boundary was available for industrial use. Although repeatedly asked to provide detailed information about the land, Hunt heard nothing definite from the realtor until last month. Only then did he learn that General Motors of Canada Ltd. and Suzuki Motor Co. Ltd. of Japan were the mystery buyers. The two automakers intended to build a \$800-million auto plant on the site—a plant that would indirectly allow the small town of Ingersoll's 6,500 residents to find work. "When we heard, we were ecstatic."

Last week, in a traditional Japanese ceremony—featuring as outdoor presentation and the ringing of a ceremonial Japanese temple bell—at Ontario Place in Toronto, the two companies announced publicly that they would build a 1.6-million-square-foot facility to produce 300,000 subcompact cars and light utility trucks a year, starting in 1989. Said a jubilant Douglas MacIsaac, Ingersoll's mayor: "We listed investment from the world's largest company—it's a gleam. We were fed like winners today."

For Ingersoll, nestled in southwestern Ontario's core and middle country, the automakers' plant will create 3,000 jobs directly. But Ingersoll is not the only town benefiting from the moving end of the province's current auto boom. In the past three years Asian and North American car makers have announced five new car plants for Ontario—an investment of \$1.8 billion, providing 7,000 direct jobs. As well, auto-parts manufacturers plan to add thousands of additional jobs at new or

expanded facilities to meet the expected surge in demand from the vehicle makers. That flood of auto investment has created a boom mentality—and the country's fastest-growing provincial economy. Said Ontario Premier David Peterson: "This is a stimulus where everyone wins."

The sudden expansion of the auto industry is so extensive that some experts are concerned that by 1990 the new production from Asian-owned auto plants in Canada and the United States, coupled with increased foreign imports, will create a crisis of overcapacity. If that happens, industry observers predict severe price cutting, which could force out of business inefficient domestic manufacturers and suppliers operating from antiquated facilities. "The market is going to tell us which cars succeed," said Roger Smith, chairman of General Motors Corp. of Detroit, "and which plants close."

Peterson said at the announcement ceremony that his government was carrying other initiatives to offset Ontario's heavy dependence on the auto industry. According to the latest figures from Statistics Canada, in 1984 the auto industry accounted for 15 per cent of Ontario's \$28.9-billion manufacturing jobs. Of the \$16 billion in revenues, five per cent came from the province that year, 74.4 per cent consisted of motor vehicles and parts. "It's a chronic problem," said Peterson, "and it is not one that is going to be solved overnight." But Robert White, president of the 190,000-member Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) union, was enthusiastic about the joint venture. Said White: "When you get this kind of investment, do you take it or do you let it slip away?"

For Ingersoll's prospective auto workers, the plant's benefits are evident. Construction of the \$500-million factory, which will receive \$40 million in provincial loans and about \$40 million in federal government grants, will begin next spring. It will be run on a day-to-day basis by Japanese managers using their management techniques. The plant's 3,000 workers, who will belong to the CAW, will work in small teams. And they will be trained to do about 12 different tasks, unlike workers in domestic facilities who generally perform only one job.

Most municipal politicians regard a major auto plant as a major advantage—it leads to more jobs, more houses, more residents and more tax revenues. In Ingersoll, Ont.—28 km northwest of Toronto—the province's largest single new auto plant is currently under construction. American Motors (Canada) Inc., which an-

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opened the \$794-million factory in 1984, said that it will be producing 300,000 units of its new Prandier model annually by 1993. The plant will provide 3,000 direct jobs. As a result, Brampton Mayor Kenneth Williams says the city's population—currently 196,000—will increase by up to 25,000. And AMC will pay "well over \$1 million a year in taxes," Williams added.

Still, the prospect of sweeping changes brought in by such large investments has divided residents in a subdivision located directly across from the proposed Brampton factory.

People complained about the likely increase in noise and traffic congestion. About 200 homeowners formed the North East Action Committee to prevent the plant from locating in their neighborhood. Vera Iorio, a 54-year-old mother of three, who served as the group's executive committee, said that some members of the committee received abusive phone calls in the middle of the night from strangers who resented Iorio's group for withdrawing the location of the plant. And at a public meeting in late 1985, she said, there "was a lot of boozing

and hollering from workers who said, 'How dare you push them out, we need the jobs.'"

Many of the 4,300 spin-off jobs expected to be created by AMC's multi-million-dollar investment will go to a surrounding community. VDO Instruments Ltd., the Canadian subsidiary of West German gauge maker VDO AG, for one, won a contract to supply AMC's Brampton plant with instrument clusters for car dashboards. As a result, the company is building its first Canadian manufacturing plant—providing at least 150 jobs—in Huron, Ont., 25 km from Brampton. And AMC itself is building a \$30-million satellite plant that will employ 300 workers in Etobicoke, Ont., to supply its Brampton operation with such items as moulded instrument panels.

When it becomes public that the car industry is moving in, towns typically experience a sudden rise in housing prices. Last December Japan's Toyota Motor Corp., the world's second-largest auto manufacturer, said that it would build its first manufacturing plant in Canada in Cambridge, Ont., located 79 km northwest of Ipperwash. The \$600-million factory, which will assemble 55,000 passenger cars a year starting in late 1990, will provide 1,000 direct jobs. According to a quarterly house price survey by Toronto-based realtor Royal LePage Real Estate Services Ltd., the price of a detached, three-bedroom bungalow in Cambridge was \$92,500 last July, up 38 per cent from a year ago. The Cambridge price increase is attributed to the Toyota plant. "That's what people on the street are telling me," said Bernard Vagt, divisional manager of Western Ontario for Royal LePage.

Auto investment can also breathe new life into towns threatened by industry closures. Last week two companies, Markham, Ont.-based auto parts giant Magna International Inc. and Lemmings International of West Germany, said that they would build a joint venture wheel manufacturing plant in Collingwood, Ont., located on the northern tip of Georgian Bay. The \$40-million plant, which will receive a \$1.1-million loan from the Ontario government, will provide 360 jobs by 1993. The announcement came only days after the town's 13,000 residents learned that Canadian Shipbuilding and Engineering Ltd., Collingwood's century-old shipyard, would close on Sept. 12. Only 66 employees were still working at the yard after 764 were laid off since last May.

Despite the job-creating impact of the surge in foreign auto dollars, some industry executives say that the Japa-



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and Korean producers should be forced to adhere to the Canada-U.S. auto pact. They say that efficient foreign car producers pose a threat to domestic manufacturers—who have to meet stringent auto pact requirements. Under the 11-year-old agreement, Detroit's big four automakers—GM, Ford Motor Co., AMC and Chrysler Corp.—can send cars, trucks and parts across the Canada-U.S. border duty free if the companies maintain a level of Canadian content equal to 40 per cent of sales. They must also build a number of vehicles in Canada roughly equal in value to their sales there.

Two weeks ago in Toronto, Harold Polking, president of Ford, charged that Canadian investment incentives to Asian car manufacturers would give them the opportunity to ship their vehicles cheaply into the United States. Said Polking: "This is additional capacity in the North American market, and you sure aren't going to see them [those cars] all in Canada." Other industry observers say that the Asian producers, who have for the most part not given firm commitments to meet the Canadian content rules, are the most likely to survive an excess-capacity crisis. Said Susan Gindis, research director for the car. "In the long term, we will lose jobs unless we enforce the principle that the people taking over the market have Canadian content."

Under the terms of the GM-Suzuki joint venture, the plant is expected to meet auto pact requirements within two years of production. That marks the first time that an Asian producer has made a definitive commitment to meet Canadian content and other auto pact requirements, noted Gindis. Japan's Honda Motor Co. Ltd., which is building a \$200-million car assembly plant in Alliston, Ont., 40 km northwest of Toronto, has said that the 30,000 Honda Accord and Civic models produced there annually by 1989 will contain only 30 per cent Canadian components. Ralph Laine, vice president for Honda's automotive division said that the company was working toward achieving Canadian content requirements, but had not set a date to achieve that goal. Toyota officials have said that they would try to qualify their Cambridge plant under the auto pact by the end of the decade.

But last week the confusing clash between domestic and Asian car makers reared from public view. As industry, government and labor leaders urged auto, Japanese tire buyers, to limit the Canadian market, the emphasis was clearly on protection.

—MICHAEL SALTER and TERESA TESSERIO

## BUSINESS WATCH

# Governor Bouey's heir apparent



By Peter C. Newman

**T**he leading candidate to succeed Gerald Bouey as governor of the Bank of Canada is an 81-year-old, well-known money man named Michel Bédard. Bouey will retire on January 31, 1987.

When I asked Bédard, 68, about making such a move, the chairman and chief executive officer of Montreal's National Bank of Canada replied, "I don't possibly care to be being mentioned with I am very old, I would be very happy, I don't think it will materialize, but I would be pleased if it keeps being repeated forever."

That reply, both easy and gracious, is right in character for a professional operator who has spent all of his career being either a successful or a failed. What makes Bédard such an obvious choice for the central bank governorship is his record of performance in both streams. A graduate of Laval and McGill universities, he joined the federal department of finance as a 25-year-old economist in 1954 and after six years moved to Quebec City where he rose quickly through the departmental hierarchy eventually to become deputy minister of industry and commerce. Following a brief stint as head of the Montreal Exchange, he assumed direction of the ailing Provincial Bank of Canada and eventually negotiated a merger with the Banque Canadienne Nationale.

That recent reducing staff by 25 per cent and closing an overvalued 305 branches—difficult assignments, particularly since Bédard was also faced at the time with a critical capital shortage, insupportable computer systems and massive financial overexposure in South America. As recently as 1983, Bédard's bank was in a loss position. But since 1984, it has been moving toward the top in terms of profitability among major Canadian banks. The National Bank of Canada now ranks second only to the Toronto-Dominion Bank in all of the important regulatory assets ratios. The National's return on average assets for 1985 was 23 per cent higher than the average for Canada's major banks, with total assets now at \$27 billion—up \$7 billion in the past 18 months.

What all this means is that it is no longer correct to describe Canada's banking system as being dominated by the Big Five. From now on, it's the Big Six. "Most of our guys don't really see

whether it's the Big Five or Six," says Bédard. "But it is fun to see some analysts starting to use the term—even if I'm not really sure that it's a good thing. Sometimes there is an advantage in being able to choose whether you're big or small."

The National's real problem is that it barely qualifies as a national bank, because 72 per cent of its Canadian assets (and 72 per cent of its total loan volume) are still in Quebec. Bédard has



Bédard, a money man's money man

been attempting to spread the bank's network into Ontario (where nine new branches are due to be opened in the next 18 months) and to build up representation in Western Canada, but as one at the National is particularly upset that the bank won't be in Alberta when all the energy loans were being made.

The main reason for National's rapid recent growth was its absorption, last fall, of the Mercantile Bank, then being fatally weakened by the collapse of con-

science in recent weeks. That \$66-million takeover, negotiated in a record four days, added assets of \$3.5 billion, doubled National's operating base in the United States and expanded its access to the commercial loan field.

Bédard's most refreshing quality is his absence of fear. Take his view of the federal deficit. "It's not a matter of principle," he says. "It's just that when we have both hands tied behind our back because we are having to spend too much on servicing our debt, we have no flexibility and we can't react to changing situations."

He believes strongly in free trade with the United States and can't understand why some people assume it's being forced upon us by the Americans. "We have to keep working on the alternatives are. If people are not afraid of keeping on as we are, I have great difficulty understanding that," he says.

While he is very bullish on Quebec's economic future, he believes it is far too early to call off Quebec separatism. "It is only the belief that separation is inevitable which is dead," he warns. "There are still people who believe that it's desirable, are working for it and dreaming about it." Bédard is happy with the Bourgeois style of government but isn't convinced that his administration will be able to resolve the province's long-term problems.

He doesn't believe that Quebec voters have turned against Brian Mulroney, because he feels they were never in this camp in the first place, with the 1984 election being mainly a driver and temporary coalition of dissatisfied Liberals and Parti Québécois loyalists.

Michel Bédard runs a good bank and his ironic view of the world would certainly seem to back up a deflationary play if he were in the governor's chair at the Bank of Canada. Here is the National Bank chairman on the Third World debt problem: "Every second summer the newspapers get fuller of Mexico again and as there is downward pressure on bank stocks, by the fall, people forget Mexico, and we are up again. I should speak of these things more seriously because these are serious problems. But there is a less serious part to it too, because if you're bored with it long enough, you know we'll see it through."

Now if that doesn't sound like a verbal comfort letter from a central banker, I don't know what does.

# Eleven years of hell

On May 26, 1971, a 17-year-old black youth, Alexander (Sandy) Smith, was stabbed to death in a park in Springfield, N.S. Seven days later police arrested his friend, Donald (Junior) Marshall, a 16-year-old Micmac Indian who had some minor brushes with the law. On June 4, 1971, Marshall was convicted of murder and sentenced to life in prison. That he was innocent, and 11 years later he was released. The real killer Roy Newman Kinoy, 38, an unemployed top stable cutter at the time of the slaying. In a compelling new book, *Eleven Years of Hell*, chronicler Marshall's autobiography of his gradual evolution into one of Canada's toughest convicts, earned him the respect of prison authorities, particularly in the maximum-security Dorchester Penitentiary in New Brunswick.

Viewed from the bottom of the hill which it commands, Dorchester Penitentiary is almost far enough away for its grisly activities to escape notice. From the first guard-post at the bottom of the long driveway leading to the summit, the blackened three-foot-thick walls appear reassuringly institutional, vaguely reminiscent of an ancient uni-

Copyright © 1982 by Michael Harris, excerpted from *Eleven Years of Hell*. The last version Donald Marshall, published by Macmillan of Canada.



Marshall at home, Dorchester (below): "He asked me again if I killed Sandy"

versity or an old fortress. Even the cells of barred wire atop the walls surrounding the yard lack drama and individuality from a distance. Nor can the naked eye pick out the armed guards in the watchtowers who con-

stantly survey the prison's 470 inmates, as well as every prison-bound vehicle from the moment it turns off the main road into Dorchester's very private driveway.

But the maximum-security prison,

the oldest in the Canadian penal system, quickly announces its true nature as you draw near to its imposing walls. The barred wire, strong in long, heavy wire than the rock of any man, beset with razor-sharp metal teeth. Armed guards, sometimes trudging with dogs, patrol the perimeter outside the walls.

Inside the cell blocks of the 17-acre institution, Dorchester lives up to its 14 security rating, the highest in the Canadian prison system with the exception of so-called "special handling units" that segregate extremely dangerous prisoners from the general inmate population. Prisoners spend from 19 to 25 hours a day in their 60-square-foot cells, where they eat, sleep and, during recreational periods, visit each other's "bunks." Their five-hour work day accounts for most of the time they spend out of their cells. Five times a day, beginning with the 6:30 a.m. public-address-system announcement inmates jokingly refer to as their "wake-up call" and ending at 11 p.m. when the prison is locked down, the population is meticulously counted. No one moves from one location to another without a pass, and the three "feedings" per day take place in shifts to reduce the number of prisoners moving through the institution at any given time.

Each day passes like a record stuck on the same groove: shower, breakfast, work, lunch, work, supper, recreation and lockdown, a hypnotic pattern that both dulls and drags out the tedious of doing time. Junior Marshall was sent to Dorchester on June 30, 1972. The arrival of the convicted murderer from Sydney, accompanied by a single guard, had been carefully, if belatedly, arranged by an exchange of documents and photo calls. When he walked through the prison's enormous front doors to begin serving his life sentence, the young Indian was met by his induction officer. Dorchester's newest inmate, Number 1267, was 18.

On his last night in county jail, Marshall had been given the whole winning room so that his family and friends could pay a final call before the youth departed for the federal penitentiary and another prison. It was a sombre affair, despite the universal effort to cheer up the despondent and fright-

ened prisoner. "My father told me Mac Rosselheim had an appeal going and that maybe, with what John Frater said about his story not being true, I would be out before too long. He asked me again if I killed Sandy, and I told him no. He said never to forget that, but he was so worried about anything, that he and my mother were behind me all the way."

Even though everyone assured him they would visit, the young prisoner knew better. None of them, least of all his parents, had the money to travel regularly to New Brunswick. There would be no more daily visits to break the monotony of doing time, no more food baskets, no more wrestling matches with roommates thrown into on lesser charges. It was, he knew, a kind of goodbye.



Marshall under arrest (1971): "A deer's head tattoo, grass, flowers, skull and crossbones"

By the time his initial interviews were complete, his induction papers gave a shadowy outline of the innocent man who now passed into the care of the warden of Dorchester Penitentiary. "Donald Marshall Jr., a Micmac Indian and Roman Catholic, six-foot, one-inch, 155 lb., brown eyes, dark brown hair. A deer's head tattoo with the name 'Earl' on left upper arm, grass, skull and flowers on dorsum. Skull and crossbones, right upper arm, 'Joker', 'heart', 'Moon', right forearm." The other tattoo, unmistakably applied by a fellow Micmac and pronounced, "I hate cops" had already faded away.

As a life in a maximum-security institution, Junior Marshall had no automatic parole date, as inmates with

short sentences did. But if he could convince authorities that he was another dangerous man, an escape risk, maintain an offense-free record and adhere to whatever long-term release plan institutional authorities prepared for him, he would be eligible for transfer to the medium-security prison at Spryfield, N.S.

But there was another requirement for getting out of Dorchester that turned his life in prison into a double hell: the admission of guilt for whatever crime had landed him behind bars. Without that admission, the prison officials who regulated every phase of his life had absolute power to keep inmate 1267 in maximum security.

According to his first prison assessment, Junior Marshall was a cooperative inmate who grew defensive and



hostile only when describing his offense to the induction warden. Summary of his case written in July, 1972, the induction training officer at Dorchester, Raymond Maffet, described him as "the typical Indian lad that seems to lose control of his senses while indulging in intoxicating liquor. Apparently he enjoys a good fight while intoxicated. He refused to admit that liquor is a problem at that it was fast becoming a problem."

Maffet further noted that the shy and nervous youth did not seem to have accepted the sentence of the court and suggested "that inmate Marshall be retained in our maximum-security institution for the time being, or at least until such a time as he is prepared to accept his lengthy sentence." The re-



daction officer also recorded a fact that many prison authorities would be writing about over the coming years: "The subject claims to be innocent of the present charge."

As that first summer in Dorchester shipped west, Junior Marshall received some bad news. After initially reversing his decision, the Nova Scotia Supreme Court dismissed his appeal on Sept. 8. Years later Moe Rosenblum, who had presented the appeal, would leave no doubt about what, in his opinion, would have happened had he been aware of the 1991 re-investigation of the Seale murder by the RCMP and Jimmy MacNeil's startling new information about Roy Ebbury's role in it before he made his arguments in front of the Appeal Court. "If I'd known about what was discovered in the re-investigation, that boy would have been out of Dorchester after these first six months."

A day before Marshall's 15th birthday, Sydney's chief of police, Gordon MacLeod, forwarded a report on Junior Marshall to the National Parole Service. It reduced the Marshall case to four neat paragraphs, offering John Pavlino's evidence against Marshall without reference to his decision confusion on the night of the murder or his eleven-hour attempt to change his story. It also stated that it was

seeing the stabbing, Margaret Chant "knew both the deceased and the accused," even though he had in fact testified that he knew neither of the boys at the time he allegedly witnessed the stabbing. The report made no reference to the 1971 RCMP investigation or to Jimmy MacNeil's sensational claim.

Toward the end of 1974, Junior Marshall had had enough of Dorchester Penitentiary. The death of the New-Foundlander, the first prison murder he had experienced, had frightened him. In addition to his own condemnation with Jimmy H., he had also seen the results of a number of terrible beatings, generally administered with weight bars. He decided to tell his classification officer what all the inmates, as desperately, wanted to hear that he had killed Sandy Seale. Maybe then he would get his long-overdue transfer to the medium-security prison at Springhill.

"I remember the guy telling me I'd never get out of prison if I kept up my story about being innocent. So I gave 'em a bullshit story about it and the f---ers believed it," Junior later explained. "When I was trying to tell them the truth about Sandy's murder, they didn't believe it. But I had to get out of Dorchester. It was too f---in' dangerous, too depressing."

The play worked. A transfer warrant was signed by prison authorities on Oct. 21, and the 30-year-old prisoner arrived at Springhill four days later.

But Marshall's frustration and bitterness continued to mount and, after a moment of fights, the authorities returned him to Dorchester where he arrived on Halloween night, in 1980, to spend the rest of his sentence.

"Trick or treat?" Junior quipped to the guard as he passed through the forbidding doors of Dorchester. The guard, remembering Marshall as a model prisoner from his early Dorchester days, informed the new arrival that a guard had been killed a few days before and that the prison was still in an uproar. "You pulled a fine time to come back to us, Junior. I don't think we even got a room for you."

"Why don't you just send me home then, just send me home, okay?" he joked.

But the joking abruptly stopped when he got inside the guard's death cell. The chaos it ushered in were all Junior heard about for the next two weeks. He was told that the three inmates had not, in fact, murdered their hostages and set his body ablaze, as was first reported, but that he was killed accidentally when another guard blindly fired his shotgun through a plywood partition after hearing his



Murderer Ebbury: the vegetable cutter washed blood off the knife in the night

colleague call out for help. Fires had already been burning in that corridor, and the man's corpse had simply fallen into the flames.

Prisoners who had been in the hole at the time told stories of how the three inmates who had taken hostages to force their transfer to another institution were savagely beaten after their capture. "The boys that were in the

hole seen it and they told us about it when they came out," Marshall said. "They said, 'You wouldn't f---in' believe it, the beatin' them guys got. They had one guy, he was knocked out 15 minutes ago and they were still beatin' him. And we started hollerin' about it, 'Leave the man alone!'"

Inmates in the general population where Junior was housed (he would

later request a move to the B-10 wing because of the constant noise) told stories of what happened after the evening riot and lockdown were over. "They told me the guards opened their doors, search them, and tear their room apart, you know. You're walking out the door, somebody grabs you by the hair and just sprays f---in' mace in your face."

Apocryphal or not, the stories were circulated as gospel, ushering in a period of high tension between inmates and grieving guards. Six weeks after his transfer from Springhill, Junior incurred his only "serious" offence report in Dorchester. A jar of honey he was eating as part of his jogging program was found in his cell and seized by guards as "contraband." Inmate 1,097 said that he had not realized honey was contraband and was let off with a warning. He later learned the guards were concerned that the honey would end up as an ingredient in someone's home brew.

After putting in more than six months of offence-free time, Junior approached his new classification officer, Margaret MacWilliam, for a transfer back to Springhill. He told her he wanted the transfer in order to get his glowing certificate and possibly win day parole to the Carlton Centre in Halifax, a halfway

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house for convicts on route between prison and the street.

The request had to be a major case conference on June 28, 1981, at Springfield, attended by six institutional personnel who had previously dealt with Marshall and his two new associates, John Webster and David Hild. Junior's former coworkers at Springfield made it "abundantly clear" that they didn't want the troublesome inmate back at the institution.

"In particular," wrote Hild, "they suggested that he should spend more time in Dorchester and demonstrate his ability to remain free of drug use."

Most particularly, Mr. Marshall must deal with his "miserable" side, including the details of the very unpleasant murder. He must admit to the crime (if he did it).

When he got the results of the case meeting, inmate 1367 calmly responded by trying to conform to what his former coworkers at Springfield said he would have to do if he were ever to get back to that institution or into his parole. It was no more than an elaborate show, but Junior had come to the conclusion that it was the only way he would ever be let out of prison.

"It was the same game I played at Dorchester to get out of the 6-in-11 piece and get to Springfield. They wanted to hear I did it, so I told them. When I got what I wanted, I took it back. Then guys would never listen to the truth."

But suddenly, with the ball in mid-court between the desperate prisoner and the bureaucracy that held him in its never-ending web, the universe was turned upside down. By an incredible coincidence, he learned the name of the man who had murdered Randy Seale.

The man Junior Marshall would never forget became suddenly enough in the afternoon of August 28, 1982. The girlfriend, Shelly Sarason, who had hitchhiked the roads of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick winter and summer to visit him since their chance meeting in 1979, appeared at Dorchester with her brother Mitchell. The conversation was going along amicably, but suddenly Mitchell suddenly asked Junior a question.

"Do you know a guy named Ray Banger?"

"I don't know him," Junior replied.

"He knows you pretty good," Sarason said.

"Yeah? I can't place the name."

"Well, he told me he killed a black guy and stabbed an Indian in the park in 1973."

A risk more powerful than any imposed by the drugs he had taken over the last 16 years surged over the 28-year-old inmate. Banger's name, he asked, half smiled at Sarason's reply.

"Yeah, an old guy," Sarason said,

adding that he had lived in Banger's house on Fairbairn Street in Sydney.

"Glasses, white hair?"

"Yeah, and he's crazy, too," Mitchell volunteered.

"You gonna back me up on that?" Junior asked.

"I got to think about it," the young man said.

"You think about it good," Junior told him.

The moment his visitors had gone, Junior rushed to a telephone and



Marshall: the world shored through his mother's fence

McNeill brothers had told Oughtred that Ray Banger was Randy Seale's real killer. Three years after that, he was given the same name by Dave Rutherford, who told police Donna Banger had seen her father watching blood from a knife on the night of the murder. Oughtred, the in charge of the detective squad, had not once taken a statement outlining that remarkable allegation. This time he did make out a report of his meeting with Dan Paul and passed it on to his superior.

A flurry of activity followed. Mitchell Sarason's sensational revelation. The Union of Nova Scotia Indians contacted Steve Aronson, a Halifax lawyer who had recently negotiated the first native land claim in Nova Scotia, and asked him to take on Junior's still very sticky case. In early September Ray Gould, Dan Paul, and the young lawyer visited Junior in Dorchester, where the inmate signed papers empowering Aronson to act for him.

The process that would lead to Marshall's eventual new trial and acquittal in May 1982, the cash settlement of \$275,000 that he received from the Nova Scotia government in September 1982, and the trial and conviction of Ray Newman Banger in January 1983, had begun at last.

On the morning of March 28, 1982, Junior remained in 1367. Junior Marshall cleaned out his cell for the last time. "The first thing I'm going to do when I get out," he had said, "I'm getting a nice bottle of red and a good piece of laid."

Before the morning was out, he had given away most of his possessions and said his goodbyes to a few special friends. Checking his pocket from time to time to make sure he still had his parole card, he awaited the arrival of his parents. They were two hours late.

Caroline Marshall had seven small black babies in her. Junior a new blue suit for coming out of prison. When she saw him in it, standing tall and handsome beside his suitcase, the blood blurred through her tears. The family embraced, then walked out of Dorchester for the last time. As their car headed down Dorchester's long laneway to the road below, Junior Marshall never looked back.

## NATURE

# Forestry frozen in time

Last summer, while flying his Bell helicopter on a geological survey over remote Axel Heiberg Island in Canada's supposedly treeless Far North, pilot Paul Tudge noticed some spots on a hill. As he drove closer he saw that they were logs—and stumps. When he landed at Eureka, Ellesmere Island, Tudge phoned Neil McMillan of the Geological Survey of Canada who is

now alerted University of Saskatchewan scientist James Banger, a specialist in fossil plants. Last week, after camping at the site for two weeks, Banger disclosed what Tudge had seen from the air: a 45-million-year-old fossil forest which has been preserved more than 1,500 km north of the Arctic Circle. Declared Banger, "It's stunning. It's so beautifully preserved."

What Banger explored less than 1,100 km south of the North Pole was about half a square mile of forest from the early Tertiary Era—a prehistoric period when flying lizards and crocodiles ruled the earth about 20 million years after the dinosaurs disappeared. The forest was so well-preserved in soil and sediment since its enclosing 45 million years ago that its dark redwood and water ferns had retained their woody character—until the steep peatified forest.

Banger found it in 80 layers of slightly bluish sand, measuring up to one metre in diameter and several 16-in. logs exposed on a 100-m slope of barren hillside within sight of the awesome ice cap that covers Axel Heiberg's central highland. After sawing aside ancient soil and using a bulldozer to carefully uncover the stumps, Banger found himself in a time-frozen, one-half forest similar to the present Cypress Swamp in Florida's Everglades. He estimates that some of the trees could have been as tall as 150 feet. Some of them remain broken in the ancient soil and a debris of leaves above the rock-hard petrified forest. Said Banger: "We packed the leaves into a bag. They're like a handful of fresh leaves except they're blackish, a bit brittle."

Banger noted that the fossilized wood "will out as it if we lumber. It's slightly oily but it retains that

reddish-brown tone of freshly split cedar. The cedar smell is long-lived." To help reconstruct the forest, Banger consulted Juan Frantz, a specialist in fossil forests at the University of Adelaide in Australia. Said Banger: "We will learn more about how these plants and trees grew in summers of round-the-clock daylight followed by months of uninterrupted winter darkness."



Banger: trees preserved for 45 million years

And he added that he expects minor catastrophes, such as floods which carried sediment, covered the forest and preserved it until now.

Banger, who celebrated the end of his field experiments by boiling tea over a fire of fossil debris that he washed downhill from the ancient site, said that the fire lacked the smell of modern burning wood although it burned easily and had a tarry odor. But tree makers will not be welcome on the site in future. Said Banger, who refused to reveal the forest's exact location. "If people get to it, it's in trouble. Without people it will be useful to scientists for a long time. Otherwise it becomes a curiosity, of little scientific value." Still, its discovery provided a rare and eerie glimpse into the distant past.

—JOHN DOWNS in Edmonton

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**N**ext month **Daniel Robler**, former columnist and producer of Toronto's CTV's popular pop-rock show *The NewMusic*, will join CTV's *The Journal* as its arts and entertainment reporter. "It was time for a change," said Robler, 29. "Good rock 'n' roll is tremendously young. I was starting to lose my edge." But Robler says that he wants to bring "a new sensibility of pop music" to the public affairs show—and added that if he had to choose between interviewing his father, author **Mortimer Miller**, and the rock group **Chocolate Pussies** from *Mail*, "I'd say I'd choose *Chocolate Pussies*." He has any claims in his own image, Robler said. "I may wear loose T-shirts with political statements on them, but I'm not about to go to Barbara Frum's hairdresser."

**W**hat once again comes down—unless it is **Malene Watson**, a 28-year-old transcendental meditation (TM) teacher from Wilketon, Ont. Watson is a proponent of *yogi flying*, an activity which apparently defies gravity: participants hop into the air from a cross-legged seated position, then progress to hovering and eventually to free flight. Watson says that *yogi flying* occurs when an advanced TM technique is used. "The technique stimulates greater use of the brain and 98% of takes place at the moment of maximum coherence." This summer Watson won a gold medal at the first international *yogi flying* competition in Washington, D.C., with a hop of 24½ inches.



Gragan, living it up with 14 husbands

and later in New Delhi he beat his own record with a hop of 28½ inches. Watson says that he expects to be flying within a few months.

**T**he cover of 46-year-old rock star **Tim Turner's** new autobiography, *A Time*, says that it was written "with

**Kurt Loder**, a senior editor with *Rolling Stone* magazine. But Loder says that it is his work, the result of 24 months of interviews. Loder, who describes Turner as a person whose "art seems to drip off her like sweat," declared, "She is the author of her life. I just wrote the book." The book includes descriptions of former husband **Joe Turner's** sexual assaults and a suicide attempt on her part. But last week in an interview with *USA Today*, Turner said that she did not



Turner 'her art drips off the sweat'

describe a series of abortions that she had while she was married. She told the newspaper, "I think I'll tell later how many and why, but this could spoil what people think of me."

**L**ast week actor and playwright **Don Harron** celebrated his 50th anniversary in show business by performing the lead role in a production of *Mass Appeal* at the King's Playhouse in Georgetown, P.E.I. Although Harron, 65, is best known for his characterizations of homophobe philosopher **Charlie Fiercherson** and sociologist **Wanda Rose-dale**, he has played an impressive vari-

ety of straight roles in films and on stage. Said Harron: "It's great fun to live this way—although sometimes I do wonder who I was because I was always playing someone else." In *Ap-*



Harron: one half of an Odd Couple

pool, Harron plays a priest who befriends a young deacon—and he says that although he has played many stereotypes during his career, he finds the role particularly exhilarating. Said Harron: "The two priests are sort of the *Odd Couple* with rollers on backboards."

**H**is memories sum up more than 48 years in Canadian journalism, including an eight-year stint as managing editor of the *Windsor Free Press*. But because **William McEwille**, 68, could not interest major book publishers in his manuscript, he had to publish *A View From There* himself. But current sales are brisk, helped along by gossip details about what McEwille describes as the "amazing ingenuity" of his late boss, *Free Press* owner **Victor Sirota**. Said McEwille: "I only have to sell 20 more copies and I'll break even."

**I**n a new-season switch, **Uz Grogan** has moved from being a cohost of CTV's lively consumer-affairs show, *Live It Up*, to cohost of the network's low-key talk show, *Lifestyles*, because, she said, she wanted to introduce "more racism" into her life. During her five years on *Live It Up*, the 39-year-old journalist-producer has often caused and milked controversy, including a 1991-outraging incident, published off 14 one-pagers in *30 Days Grogan* said that the show "was a fabulous experience, but I'm looking forward to showing up more thoughtful and serious side." Besides, she added, "There could I refuse a *Lifestyles* contract?"

—Stacy by NANCY MATHER



Author Chetan Anand, Vancouver

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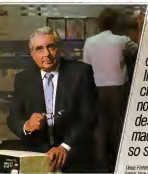
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## Judged with kindness

JUDGES

By Jack Batten  
(Macmillan of Canada, 250 pages,  
\$24.95)

The least explored members of the judiciary are the men and women who sit on the bench in judge-

ment in part, that is because in the British-Canadian system judges are expected to be the embodiment of dispassionate neutrality. Emerging in the 1960s, with a strong, distinctive personality would undermine this carefully cultivated judicial image. Jack Batten, the prolific lawyer-author of

*Lawyers and the Court*, has countered tradition in his newest book, *Judges*, by pointing to those who sit in judgment—making his book as much a departure as it is an extension of work he has done before. But although *Judges* performs an important role in demystifying an aspect of the legal process, there are clearly defined limits to what can be expected from Batten's approach.

In the preface to his current collection of judicial profiles, anecdotes and thumbnail sketches, the author writes, "I admired almost all of the judges I called on in the course of putting this book together." That echoes his afterward for *Is Court* there, he declared that the courtroom advocates interviewed for that book were "among my favorite people."

Batten's genial, unthreatening style emerges as both his greatest asset and his most frustrating constraint. The obvious willingness of so many judges at so many different levels of the court system to give Batten interviews clearly flows from their awareness that he is not about to render harsh judgment on anyone. His portraits are amiable, fluctuating and reveal rather more about a given judge's interest in justice or just than about the political motivations behind his appointment to the bench. That inevitably, a certain uniformity of tone and blandness flows from such a bespectacled approach.

Still, the writing is smooth and fast-paced throughout. Batten has a considerable gift for succinctly setting forth the legal issues. And many of the cases are genuinely fascinating, especially when told from the judge's point of view: district court Judge Stephen Barone of Toronto renounces his subordination in the challenging courtroom sparring matches with Cindy Sherman's defence counsel, Brian Greenbaum, during the hearing to extradite Smith to California for her part in the death of actor John Belushi. And Sandy MacHernon, now retired from Saskatchewan's Court of Queen's Bench, describes the passions aroused in all participants—including himself—in the notorious battle between Colin and John Thacher for custody of their three children.

The anecdotes flow unstopingly. As in his earlier works, Batten is wise enough to let his highly articulate subjects do the talking; the author has elected not to rush for cases. *Judges* is a smooth journey down a modern highway past interesting places. It bypasses the rougher, more challenging terrain, but there is still reason to be grateful to Batten for having proved such an entertaining guide on the way.

—GET GARDNER, KAY

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A 10-year-old New York Herald street drugs and the world's largest growth industry

## BOOKS

# Kingdom of the damned

THE UNDERGROUND EMPIRE  
OF STREET CRIME AND  
GOVERNMENT EMBLACE  
By James Mills  
(Doubleday, 4,950 pages, \$92.95)

Flying over a patch of Mexican jungle, a plane drops what appear to be soccer balls—leather sacks filled with cocaine. Small-scale wars involving hard grenades and machine guns erupt in the remote fortified Mexican estates of a drug lord. Mexican police interrogate a drug dealer by beating his broken foot—with his own crutch. These are samplings from the vast, unbridled, and sometimes tales that author James Mills, a former *TIME* magazine reporter, has gathered in *The Underground Empire*. For more than five years Mills followed an elite U.S. government drug enforcement unit, Centac, as its crusade to break the syndicate that grew, ship and sell drugs. Mills was present during major investigations almost from conception and spent hundreds of hours writing in cheap hotel rooms as coffee-drinking agents prepared to spring their traps. From conversations with agents, informants, drug dealers and paid assassins, and from dozens of still-secret U.S. government reports, Mills has crafted a fascinating but deeply flawed book on what he calls the international "engine" of drugs.

The empire's scale and enormous growth, he writes, are awesome. "The inhabitants of the earth spend more money on illegal drugs than they

spend on food," he says, "more than they spend on education, medical care, or any other product or service." The international narcotics industry is the largest growth industry in the world, with annual revenues in excess of \$700 billion. And, Mills adds, "The empire has become as ruthlessly acquisitive and exploitative as any 19th-century imperial kingdom."

Mills's observations about the battle against the empire are unimpressive. After half a decade of digging, he charges that top officials of at least 35 nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America are inextricably involved in drug trafficking and that "without the subjugation of the United States government, the Underground Empire could not exist." Even the Central Intelligence Agency is implicated, supporting military and political forces linked to drug traffic if they are also anti-Communist. A American foreign policy consideration, Mills claims, prevents Washington from coercing friendly governments in Mexico, Colombia, Thailand and other drug-exporting nations into stopping the flow of contraband. As for President Ronald Reagan's well-stated "war on drugs," Mills claims that international drug traffickers regard it as "a joke."

Mills's book also includes in-depth reconstructions of three of Centac's operations. The author follows Centac's hunters as they recruit informants and track suspects—a Florida-based marijuana smuggler, a Colombian, Mexican-based emigrants and

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cocaine dealer, and a Chinese opium and heroin dealer with branches in Hong Kong, Thailand, Burma and San Francisco. The odds against success are high. Drug dealers often operate under aliases from safe houses equipped with state-of-the-art communications and security systems. Centric triumphs in two of the three cases, which end in major arrests. But the third drug chief eludes his partners. Along the way, Mills brings onstage a vast array of characters, some of them unforgettable voices. The dialogue is raw and the portrait of the Centric agents' lives, of alternating heroism and bursts of terror, gives the anti-drug crusade the genuine feel of war.

But Mills often seems to lose control of his material. He drifts for several pages into such intriguing but irrelevant digressions as the marital problems of a drug lord's paid assassin. At times, it seems that Mills included unedited tape transcripts to flesh out a publisher's fetish for a doomsday-sized tone. There is an excess of accounts of drug dealers' opulent habits, torturer-revivers and spies. The jumps from one Centric operation to another, too, are confusing. Another major flaw is that *Underground Empire* lacks an index, charts, maps or other reader aids to follow the huge cast and complex contraptions. As a result, Mills's points are often lost in a morass of hard-to-relevant trivia.

But at the core, *Underground Empire* is truly a shocking book. The conspiracies and corruption it details are as the grand scale—large enough to make drug dealers the potential rulers of several states in Latin America, to enable them to buy control of local governments in the United States, and ultimately, to place themselves beyond the reach of any law, anywhere.

And Mills's analysis is based on dozens of interviews with the scores of diagnosed veteran narcotics officers. No amount of drug setbacks—"putting powder as the table"—is the jargon of the trade—can do any more than map the flow of drugs as long as huge, well-financed syndicates continue to make up their leaders. Centric seemed to report these syndicates—but recently the Federal Bureau of Investigation dismantled the agency and replaced it with an FBI-operated unit.

That action, says Mills, discounts Washington's claim that its war-on-drugs intends to curb the drug trade. Now, there will be more freedom for the high-level drug syndicates that have already penetrated into the very police and intelligence services of nations claiming to be allies in the war against drugs.

—ALEXANDER GILMAN

## SHOW BUSINESS

# Grand arias in a hockey palace

During the hockey season, Vancouver's Pacific Coliseum is host to the Vancouver Canucks and their bounteous fans. But last week one of the world's most celebrated opera companies transformed the cavernous hockey palace into a sumptuous auditorium with black, crimson and gold and red seats. As part of the Expo '86 World Festival, Milan's La Scala company avoided Giuseppe

Verdi's *Il Trovatore* and instead staged a production of the opera's Italian rival, Puccini's *La Bohème*, which also carried images of the stage action. Still, what made the evening unforgettable was opera's traditional elements—lavish costumes, grand sets and stirring music.

A complicated sign of international respect and family feuding, star-crossed lovers and religious convulsions, *La Bohème* marked La Scala's

first dramatic emergence in Act II, which opens with a view of the colonnades of a nation's palace. Then, a grey canvas backdrop falls, and the action shifts to a scene nearby, where Pagnolo (sung by Paul Poldoski) is a dark and subtly shrouded bear in wearing his backless. Suddenly, the canvas rises again to reveal the full 115-member chorus, dressed as warring crusaders in white tunics,



Scenes from Verdi's *Il Trovatore* showing examples of a flair for the dramatic and reinforcement of technology

Verdi's rarely heard 19th-century opera *Il Trovatore* since the First Commune. The company faced the challenge of filling 6,700 seats for six evenings, and appealing to both trained opera-lovers and blue-eyed curiosity-seekers. In the end, a combination of rock-concert technology and the legendary talents of La Scala's 364 artistic members and 45 technical staff forged a glittering success. Best company conductor Gennaro Gennaro, 75. "We Italians have many faults, but we have the ability to adapt."

Parents seemed at staying an opera in art arena, but they came. For the first time in the company's 188-year history it used subsidies to pro-

duce its first appearance in Canada since it performed Verdi's *Nabucco* at Montreal's Expo '67. *Il Trovatore* involves two brothers, Arvino and Pagnolo, and their rivalry for a woman named Violetta. Although Violetta chose Arvino long ago and bore him a daughter, Giselda, Pagnolo has never overcome his passion for Violetta, nor forgiven his brother. One night, he attempts to murder Arvino, but kills his father by mistake. The tortured Pagnolo is then exiled to the Holy Land. But when Arvino journeys there to fight in the Crusades against the Muslims, Pagnolo, disguised, helps him gain a major victory.

La Scala's performance reached majestic heights, particularly during the ensemble scenes. The company's fair-

ness on wooden horses, others carrying weaponry and banners. Led by Arvino—the mounted leader Rina Di Cesari—the crusaders sang their coming battles, filling the stage with their roaring sounds.

La Scala's artists were as powerful as the chorus, particularly Ragnolo soprano Gloria D'Amico. As Giselda, she displayed exquisite control in a duetting series of arias which provided the opera's musical highlight. The cost of bringing such talents to Expo '86 also soared—to an estimated \$3 million. For the Milwaukee, *Il Trovatore* was an audacious high-tech gamble. For opera lovers in a hockey rink, La Scala came, sang—and scored.

—JANE WYMAN in Vancouver

# Cavalcade of cinematic artistry

Chief Harewood arrived in 1986, Jane Fonda in 1985. This year the director of Montreal's World Film Festival, Serge Lougee, predicted the biggest celebration ever. Crowds are estimated to have totalled 250,000, a record for the event which ran from Aug. 28 to Sept. 1. But instead of stars, the festival concentrated on such industry luminaries as Australia's Paul Cox (director of *Mos of Flowers*) and France's Jean-Jacques Beineix, best known for his film *Divs*. The absence of celebrities so frustrated some that on Aug. 25, the festival's opening night, police had to separate photographers snuffing for the chance to record one of the few faces they recognized. Among prize winners: Pierre Trudel, strolling toward the *Plan des Arts* for the premiere screening of Franco Zeffirelli's *Dooley*.

Still, there was little quarrel with the range and quality of the 12-day festival's 125 feature films. Screenings of the 11 *Stars* (a British *Cineaste* of Today showcase) were especially well-attended—particularly *Clockwork*, starring British comedian John Cleese as a time-worn, class-conscious British headmaster, and *Nights and Days*, about a black brass band in a depressed British Midlands city. Other hits included a movie about film-making by France's Jean-Luc Godard, *Grandeur et décadence d'un petit commerce de cinéma* (*The Rise and Fall of a Small-Time Movie Merchant*), and *The Devil on the Flesh*, by Italy's Marco Bellocchio.

Devil underscored the advantage the Montreal Festival enjoys over its major competitors, Toronto's Festival of Festivals, which opens this week. Bellocchio's picture features a scene of oral sex so explicit that the Ontario Film Review Board has requested 30 seconds worth of cuts. By contrast, after its second Montreal Festival premiere, *Devil* opened in that city's cineplexes this month.

Another feature that has distinguished Montreal from its more formally organized Toronto counterpart is the many opportunities that filmgoers have to meet the stars and directors. During their work in informal meetings, this year one of the most

outspoken participants was Australia's Cox. Before the Aug. 25, 9 a.m. screening of his new film, *Carnie*, he spoke publicly against the global dominance of American cinema. He even issued a challenge: "Are Canada should by your flag own higher, and show only Canadian films."

Cox's audience applauded dutifully. But throughout the festival, the Canadian-made features, both English and

They include *The Adventure of Pinocchio*, a comedy about Newfoundland's secession from Canada made by St. John's animated comic theatre company, and the witty *Sitting on Lush* (Canada's first feature to focus on blacks). Lush explores the Montreal show lives of a pregnant, Barbadian woman and her often-omnipresent lover. After Lush opened to strong critical praise, its creators gathered in Mon-



Actress Chloë D'Ambo, director Gilles Carle at festival premiere: apicy

French, attracted noticeably smaller audiences than reported *Stars*. National Film Board of Canada director Gilles Walker, whose 86 *Days* was a hit of last year's festival, explained: "Audiences feel they can see the Canadian films later. It is understandable—but unfortunate, because some of this year's pictures, like *Loupette*, are quite extraordinary."

Loupette was among the most-discussed and best-reviewed of the 12 Canadian feature-length movies showcased at the festival. A tale of the surprising friendship between an upper-class British woman who has just emigrated to Alberta and a Māori who works as her family's nanny, it will open in several Canadian cities this month. Other Canadian films that premiered in Montreal will shortly follow.

trials' (Ch) Numa to celebrate with rain, just rainy and what the club admitted as "a unique party."

It was one of the festival's celebrations at the festival, which has shifted emphasis from gala to serious movie-going. Still, there were a few rowdy moments in Montreal's darkened screening rooms. Audiences cheered one scene in Jack Donaghy's *Donaghy*, in which a character defends his work in a twofold, X-rated porno film being shot in Toronto. He calls an abusive American movie producer, "We may be little and dirty, but we're Canadian." Cautious to appetite for both spicy dancehall fare and imported meat, the Montreal World Film Festival once again presented a cinematic feast.

—GERALD PEARMAN in Montreal



Moon with Jack Bush painting: 'Inevitably of being an artist'

## THE ARTS

# Fine arts of reform

It was a classic contrast between the rich market for celebrated art and the often impoverished lives of artists themselves. Toronto's commercial art gallery owners Evelyn Allen, Simon Desrosiers and Walter Moss had organized the auction this week of an estimated \$300,000 worth of works by renowned 20th-century artists, including Pablo Picasso, David Hockney, Andy Warhol and Nan Dunlop. In raising money for Canada's first retirement home for visual artists. Some of the works for the Sept. 4 auction at Toronto's Park Plaza Hotel were donated by the donors, who had said that they would contribute a portion of the total profits to the retirement home. Fred Allen's "There are a lot of mature artists in this country, and some of them are in awful poverty." The financial plight of artists received national attention last week, as Ottawa released its 30-page federal tax force report, *The Status of the Artist*. Charred by Montreal playwright Grégoire Gélina and Toronto-based former labor administrator Paul Sten, the tax force made the same point as the country's artists: artists need—and merit—more help than they are getting.

Sten and Gélina compiled the report after consulting with 400 artists in cross-country hearings. Their report ranges across most aspects of artists' lives, from freedom of artistic expression to such health and safety concerns as proper labelling of poisonous paint pigments. But it concentrates on tax-

ation and social benefits. The report argues that artists should receive special concessions similar to those for lawyers and fishermen, such as being able to average their incomes over five years. It also suggests that the estimated 120,000 artists who make less than \$35,000 a year should not pay income tax, and that expenses related to the creation or performance of their art should be non-deductible. The report calls for workers' compensation for all artists and access to private pension plans for self-employed artists. As well, it urges developing criteria to make unemployment insurance available to artists—a controversial suggestion, in view of the government's current plans to tighten the tax regulations. Still, Sten argues that Scandinavian, French and British artists already enjoy similar social benefits.

Some artists, including pop star Carole Kall and wildlife artist Robert Bateman, clearly flourish without such protection. But the average annual income for all artistic disciplines is well below the poverty line. In 1981, when figures were last tabulated, dancers earned \$9,154 and visual artists a median \$2,841. Karl Boveridge, a spokesman for the Toronto-based Independent Artists' Union, declared, "People don't understand the psychological impact of the necessity of being an artist." Artist Boveridge has survived his last years through door-to-door market research and his "survival" "free-lance painting."

Apart from the creation in 1987 of

the country's major grant-giving organization—the Canada Council—the needs of those who work in the cultural sector have generated more formal inquiries than positive changes. By the end of the year, seven task forces on the arts, six of them recommended by former minister of communications Marcel Masse, will have submitted their reports. Masse's successor, Flora MacDonald, acknowledges that it will take her months to sift through the findings of various groups, which range from Edward Bory's July report on funding for the arts to the upcoming report on the National Museums of Canada, expected later this month.

Meanwhile, artists across the country are waiting for government action on the report. Boveridge says that the Independent Artists' Union supports most recommendations. But his response to the flurry of arts task forces is more skeptical. Said Boveridge: "The rhetoric is improving, but not the reality." At last week's news conference Boveridge declared, "Artists are not asking for more than anyone else. They are just asking for equitable treatment." But artists will be facing stiff competition from other groups in their bid for federal money.

—PAMELA YOUNG with HELARY MACKENZIE in Ottawa

## MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

### Fiction

- 1 *A Matter of Honor*, Archer (3)
- 2 *A Perfect Day*, Le Guin (3)
- 3 *Red Storm Rising*, Clancy (3)
- 4 *Act of War*, Bradford (3)
- 5 *The House of Scorpions*, Ludlum (4)
- 6 *Wonderland*, Steel (4)
- 7 *101 Take Manhattan*, Kravitz (5)
- 8 *Power of the Sword*, Smith (5)
- 9 *Sagebrush*, Coates (5)
- 10 *Lost of the Blood*, D. K. Brown (10)

### Nonfiction

- 1 *Fatherhood*, Cooley (3)
- 2 *Fit for Life*,
- 3 *Descent and Descent* (3)
- 4 *Invitation to a Royal Wedding*, Hamilton (3)
- 5 *The Babylon Diet*, Rotz (4)
- 6 *James Herriot: His Stories*, Herriot (4)
- 7 *Black Death: His Story*, Hudson and Davidson (4)
- 8 *100 Best Campaigns in Work for Us*, Canada, Jones, Perry & Ligon (4)
- 9 *Fund: The Men and the Machine*, Lacey (5)
- 10 *Renascence*, Harris (5)
- 11 *Black Death: His Story*, Hudson and Davidson (6)
- 12 *Cultures, Psychology and Beliefs* (10)

(1) Figures last week

—Compiled by Frances McNulty

# The Slam can handle it, easy

By Allan Fotheringham

One always hesitates to get into an argument with someone you greatly admire. Besides, I love 'em Adventures—great stuff. But it's a different thing when you go head-to-head with an respected writer as Margaret Laurence. She thinks I'm pandering to racism by referring to the new premier of British Columbia, Willie (Wooden Shoes) Vander Zalm, as a Dutch immigrant.

Well, let's hold on a minute. "Dutchies," as we know, has replaced

"boonies" as No. 1 on the BBI Parade in the letters to the editor column. In fact, it has almost lost its meaning, in the way that "boonies" as a serious word got beaten to death in the 1960s when every overzealous politician and stern university president was labelled a "boonies." The point is that BBI Vander Zalm is a Dutch immigrant and he has risen to the important post of premier of the third-largest province in the country—a remarkable achievement and a noteworthy event. He is very proud that he is a Dutch immigrant. He mentions it every chance

he gets and, in fact, used it extensively in his climb to the top—pointing out to his admirers how (Wacky great) our enterprise system could reward someone who never got past high school but worked hard, slugged head-down and made a million.

Consistent, as a whole, love the Dutch, partly because they achieve these madmen's pluck and work virtues, and partly because of the special role of Canadian troops in liberating Holland. As witness the annual Ottawa spring picnic with the tanks still supplied by the Netherlands.

It is, now, and significant news, when an immigrant—as opposed to a native-born politician—can win such an important position as premier. The reporters in the press rows at the Social Credit convention at Vancouver who picked The Zalm were going crazy trying to check whether or not he was the first immigrant to become premier. He, Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.

wasn't. Tommy Douglas was born in Scotland, another testimony to how much influence that race has had in forming this nation. Premier Joe Ghin of Prince Edward Island is from Lebanon parents, born in Charlottetown—just another example, as is Vander Zalm, of the growing diversity of this country that no longer has a majority of whites. It's one of the great advantages of Canada, just ask Henry Kissinger. Because of the American law that allows only the native-born to run for the presidency, he has been denied a chance to try for the White House, a

Slam—have been millionaires.

It was, however, impossible it is to comprehend today, a major political story when Jack Kennedy campaigned to be the first Roman Catholic to become president of the United States. Ronald Reagan is the first president ever to be divorced. That's news too. Vander Zalm with his unique background is news, just as Vincent Massey was when we finally shook off that colonial yoke of having our governor general shipped across the pond from Buckingham and made him the first true Canadian in that post.

Jeanne Sauvé made headlines when she became the first woman Speaker of the House of Commons—and then first female as boss of Ontario Hall. Geraldine Ferraro was a significant breakthrough as the first woman on the presidential ticket, as Pat Carney will be when she becomes finance minister—if Barbara McDougall doesn't beat her to it. It would be significant, and admirable news, for example, if a Canadian premier had the courage to appoint a homosexual as attorney general. Every barrier broken is news. Willie (Wooden Shoes) He's been

called that for years by the Victoria and Vancouver press in a gesture that Jews political writer, Shirley Bennett, Dave (Terrell) Campbell, Phyllis Phil Gardiner. The newspaper cartoonists have made his wooden-shoes image as familiar as Brian Mulroney's exaggerated Irish jaw or Pierre Trudeau's nose. (Is it "Mugger" to make fun of Mulroney's jaw? Or de Gaulle's nose?) In fact, the cartoonist who invented the wooden shoes trademark is Bob Bierman, himself a Dutch immigrant, who was once used for label by Welfare Minister Vander Zalm after a cartoon depicted the unemployed-looking politician picking the wings off a fly. *Jebediah* might be a slat, wooden shoes certainly are not.

Vander Zalm—and Ghin—are a good sign that things are changing in our island. Come on, Margaret, you're familiar with the attempted censorship of your own writings, let's get back to lighting the woodstoves and mouth breathers who are the real enemy.



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